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MEDICAL AID FOR ALL
Hugh Cabot

THE CHURCH'S MANWARD DIRECTION
Francis J. McConnell

A NATION IN THE MAKING—INDIA
The Earl of Lytton

MEDIÆVAL DRAMA REDIVIVUS
Hugh Ross

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The American Scholar

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RIGHT MAKES MIGHT

Both history and psychology fail to penetrate to the cranial fastnesses of the dictatorial mind. As might be expected, a dictator obviously dictates even to himself—he permits himself to perceive only that history and only that psychology which supports his ambitions. If it were not so, surely autocrats would long since have seen that the meek are inheriting the earth. Psychology promises and history shows that the less grasping, more cooperative, peaceful peoples are more likely to win allies, whereas the aggressive, belligerent nation is feared by all—is the common threat which creates a united opposition. This tendency, to be sure, has not been without reverses. Local and partial democracies as in Greece and Rome had their day and succumbed, but the steady spread of knowledge and political sagacity does not succumb and as a consequence most peoples have gradually assumed greater control of their citizenship. Industrial magnates also have had to yield power to the collective will of workers and consumers. Ordinary people, content with a reasonable share of the world's offerings, tend to league into an irresistible fight for the common good.

Herein lies the only sense, if any, in warfare. In the long run democratic alliances tend to be victorious in war—might gradually accumulates on the side of right. Any particular war may be won by the accidents of power, but through the ages autocracies have been forced one by one to surrender to democracies of varying degrees. Likewise autocratic nationalisms are reluctantly but surely surrendering to a cooperative internationalism which will have the power to win every war. The god of war can be crushed by his own weapons through the natural working of the psychology of international confidence and alliance. Nations that would discard the use of force come to be trusted and supported by other nations. In these national relationships paradoxically enough, because right eschews might, right acquires might.

W. A. S.

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Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

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Natural Law and Constitutional Democracy

JAMES T. BRAND
Circuit Court Judge, Oregon

AN historic but now overripe apple falls upon or near the contemplative Newton and a law of gravitation is deduced. A beam of light from a distant star worms its way through a shrinking universe to the eye of Albert Einstein and a law of relativity is discovered. The two laws are opposed, yet the Newtons, the Einsteins, and the lesser fry are alike resolved upon one point—and if that break, disaster follows. There ought to be—nay there is—a law. This much is agreed. By which I would suggest that physical scientists, though of diverse convictions, nevertheless share an abiding faith in the existence of a higher "law about laws," some postulate of rationality and uniformity in the universe.

It is in this world apparently saturated with the laws of physics and chemistry that the human race has grown from infancy to adolescence. Here it is that social customs and moral values have evolved. After repeated discovery of objective rules apparently inherent in matter and force it seems inevitable that man should have sought also to discover rules of civil conduct inherent in the moral universe. And since rules of physics obviously existed before they were discovered, so also moral laws were thought to possess preexistent objectivity. Thus alongside the scientific law of nature has developed a philosophical "natural law" of immense historical and prophetic significance.

In this age of isms, constitutional democracy is just another theory trying to get along. A reappraisal of values is at hand. Our Constitution has been exalted as the very incarnation of the old natural law. What is this ancient concept from which con-

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stitutions have evolved? Is it a fixed star of guidance or the *ignis fatuus* of a gullible people? Of the character of natural law I have hinted. It is not the law of judge or of scientist, though it seems to bear some relation to that "law about laws" to which I referred. The "uniformity of nature" in science and of natural law in philosophy each transcend experience and dwell in that mysterious realm where the lofty ramparts of logic lie shadowed by the pinnacles of faith. Natural law hints at ultimates and essential harmonies beyond our ken. It speaks of social rationalities and adjustments attainable by human effort.

Moulded by the genius of Platonic Philosophy, the belief of mankind in the inherent quality of natural law has persisted to this day. Immanent in the universe there are, it is said, rules of right conduct and forms of justice, independent of the will of man, above human rulers, whether kings or people, pre-existent, immutable, universal, and authoritative. Like the rules of physics they are conceived as outside of and beyond man; the object of discovery, not invention.

For an understanding of this strange belief, common to all generations, we should taste the "dear delight philosophy" and the mystery of the Platonic idea which was to guide men's thought through the ages, for the house that Athenian philosophy built was no isolated cloister. Here were the teachers that taught the Greece that taught the Rome that conquered the world.

Proclaimed by Cicero, natural law became the keystone of the splendid Stoic arch. From it emanated the unifying influence of *jus gentium*, "that law which natural reason established among all mankind and is observed equally by all peoples."

Through Rome and its empire the sweep of the doctrine became resistless. In its various aspects the Scriptures became its text, the Papacy claimed its ancient authority, the Holy Roman Empire was a striving for its universality. The Middle Ages with their somber rule of submission to authority were dominated by the great conception of brooding transcendentalism.

With the dawn of the Renaissance and the rise of nationalism

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the doctrine was not lost. Natural law found its way to England and the soul of Greek philosophy found an institutional body within which to dwell. Influenced by the Platonic idea the ancient laws and customs of the realm assumed the habiliments of natural law, above kings and people, the objective, preexisting law of right reason. "The king himself," wrote Bracton (despite the royal absolutism of his time), "ought not to be subject to man but subject to God and to the law."

At long last, out of conflict and compromise, came Magna Carta, not a document but a tradition in the life and law of England. Then it became manifest that natural law, the abstract, had fused with natural rights, the concrete. The preexistent eternal had become preexistent customary. The Academy of Plato, the Lyceum of Aristotle, had become the King's Bench and the Common Pleas of England. As if acknowledging its paternity this new concept of a higher law guarding the specific rights of man—life, liberty, property—still claimed the attributes of the old: preexistence, objectivity, immutability, perfect justice.

To this very day the Courts of America when confronted by a novel question speak the language of natural law. It was no ancient Greek who said "Men do not make laws. They do but discover them." These are the words of Calvin Coolidge. The origin of the doctrine in this country is not hard to trace. To America came the little ship *Mayflower* with her unseen cargo of British tradition, liberty, and law. To America came John Locke and the Social Compact, Tom Paine and the Rights of Man. To America came Montesquieu and Blackstone who extolled the limitless powers of Parliament, yet in the next breath proclaimed that "The law of nature is binding over all the globe —at all times. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid derive all their authority mediately or immediately from this original."

Where now is any mystery in the origin of American Constitutionalism? Limited government, law above laws, was the product of no immaculate conception. Our Constitution is the

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child of ancient philosophy wedded to the traditions of old England. If Demosthenes asserts that every law is a discovery, not an invention, Sir Henry Maine finds the same conviction today in every court-house of the Anglican world. If Aristotle advised the advocates of his time when they had no case according to the law of the land "to appeal to the law of nature" and "argue that an unjust law is not a law," so too today he who is aggrieved by arbitrary legislation appeals to the ancient super law still immanent in the 14th amendment.

It is the fashion of modern realists to exclaim with wonder and amusement over the worship of the Constitution. Whether that instrument is a transient phase of political evolution or the heritage of future ages I know not, but this much I assert—wise or foolish—loyalty to the Constitution is not the mere emotion of Americans for a brief century and a half. It is a transcendental faith stretching back through the centuries to the dawn of the history of thought. It is the outreaching of human hands to a something preexistent, immutable, eternal, something which calls for worship, a chord of harmony, a vision of truth and justice enthroned and regnant. It is our tribute to natural law.

The reader should now be prepared for a glowing conclusion of classic design. We are to slide gently to our knees and join in the worship of every phase of the Constitution of 1789. Alas, no such simple moral may adorn the tale. With diffidence I approach a less hackneyed conclusion.

We have seen a beautiful half-truth. Natural law has claimed Platonic attributes, to be sure, but it has claimed specific content as well. Even in its origin it was an ideal to conjure with, and conjurers are human. To Aristotle natural law was a perpetual justification of slavery in Athens where culture was built on bondage, yet in the Stoic conception all men were born free. South of Mason and Dixon's line the "immutable" law was Aristotelian. North of that line it was Stoic. Natural law was invoked by Pope against Emperor and by Emperor against Pope. It was the shield of the divine right of kings. It was the sword of the Barons at Runnymede. It was the text for Lord Bacon

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when he said that judges should be lions, but lions under the throne. It was the text of Lord Coke when he said that the king is under the law. As natural law merged in the "rights of man" and as natural rights, under the banner of *laissez-faire*, became tinged with economic dogma we find floating on the ancient stream of faith, strange craft with a cargo of alleged specific yet "immutable" rights of man which seemed to enthrone man above men, the individual above the group; rights whose static implications were scarcely appreciated till the 1880's in America. Then for the first time American constitutional law, our applied higher law, became, under compelling pressure, a limitation upon social and economic legislation. Natural law was a protector of the then "immutable" rights of man, even his right to employ women for twelve hours a day and to contract away his right of contract.

Since yesterday the "immutable" meant this, today that, and tomorrow, if the New Dealers have their way, may again mean something quite different, we sadly conclude that as a guide to the perfect social system natural law is a will-o'-the-wisp. It beckons—but whither?

Are we then led through this noble history to counsels of despair? In the maze of conflicting doctrine is there not still some common ground, some uniformity, some ultimate truth?

Natural law has appeared to man as a preexisting objective code of conduct. This it cannot be. This it is not. It is a philosophical ideal of attainable harmonies. As a code it whistles in any wind. As a faith it has an immense significance which does not even depend on the verity of the Platonic idea. The significance of the thought is in the light it sheds on the thinker. Thus the truth of the doctrine may be found underlying its most palpable error. Natural law tells us little concerning destination but volumes concerning origin, and what is that origin but the nature of man? In the persistent illusion of objectivity we find the reality of spiritual uniformity. Truth is none the less true because it is psychological. In the mirror of philosophy man beholds a reality none the less real because a reflection of

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his own face. And thus we find a noble uniformity in human nature. Man is an aspiring idealistic animal who believes in perfect justice though wrong prevails against him; who dreams of harmony though he lives in discord, of ultimate objective standards though he never found one. With a strange racial modesty he projects his own ideals and aspirations outward as upon a screen of objectivity and worships them afar off but with no sense of authorship.

Though dogmas have died and customs have vanished the faith of man in a higher law controlling rulers as well as people has lived to this day. A faith is a fact, and age-long continuity of belief is a fact of immeasurable significance. For upon popular belief alone the permanency of government depends.

Natural law is the seed and the demand. Constitutionalism is at once the ripe fruit and the supply.

What then for current political history is the import of this truth? In denying objectivity to natural law many a scholar and judge who has preached the gospel of immutable right reason as incarnate in our constitutional law will assert that I have destroyed the foundations on which our Constitution rests. But what are those foundations?

Written constitutions were devised to give a degree of permanency to the systems and norms which they establish. A constitution governs or guides a people in an environment. Environment is a conglomerate of science, social usage, industry, economics, culture, religion; and each ingredient is a variable. In so far as the "document," or its judicial interpretation, seeks to control these environmental variables, to just that extent are we impaled on the horns of a dilemma. Either the constitutional shell of government will prevail and the indwelling social organism will atrophy, or the growing body will crack that shell and cast it off. In the first instance constitutionalism becomes a threat; in the second a futility.

Compared with the metamorphic mass that we call environment the essential nature of man appears constant indeed. Though its conclusions are tentative, nevertheless the infant sci-

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ence, psychology, glimpses fundamental uniformities and durable bases on which we may build for the ages.

Here is the crux of the matter. Government is not a structure or a machine. It is an army—or a mob. A constitution primarily controls—not things but people. Law cannot affect capitalism or socialism, paternalism or *laissez-faire*, in the abstract. It acts only from, through, and upon men—men who are either rulers or ruled, whose social and economic institutions, agitated by the ceaseless advance of scientific knowledge, suffer constant and kaleidoscopic change. A constitution designed to petrify the protean forms of business is but a Gorgon's head on whom to look is death. The great uniformities are in man, his ideals, his motives, his cravings. A keen appreciation of this distinction is manifest in recent epochal decisions of the Supreme Court. Ancient economico-legal dogma has been shocked as the great court has expanded the power of the states to affect contract rights, to fix prices, to accomplish social ends through the money power. On the other hand the restless radicalism of our generation has also been stunned by the fearless defense of that part of the Constitution which concerns governmental as distinguished from current economic doctrine. The division of powers between state and nation, the vindication of congressional power, the curbing of incipient dictatorship, the demarcation of the effective yet safe sphere of administrative tribunals, the maintenance of judicial dignity and independence, all testify to the adoption, conscious or unconscious, of the distinction for which I contend.

The most notable example of governmental structure based upon psychological concepts is the separation of powers whereby legislative, executive, and judicial departments each function with a measure of independence within their respective fields. Hinted by Aristotle, sponsored by Locke and Blackstone, yet it was a pioneer sociologist, the immortal Montesquieu, who pointed the way to constitutional democracy. Described by James Madison as "the oracle who is always consulted," it was the

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great Frenchman who first clearly sensed the psychological basis of constitutionalism. Said he:

> Political liberty is to be found only in moderate governments and in these it is not always found. It is there only when there is no abuse of power. But constant experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it and carry his authority as far as it will go. Is it not strange, though true, to say that virtue itself has need of limitation? To prevent this abuse, it is necessary that power should be a check to power.

Here indeed was a challenge to arbitrary power in every form, an appeal for a higher law which shall check even the administrators of a democracy, a conclusion resulting from profound study of human nature in action.

I do not hail the separation of powers as an ultimate. I cite it as an illustration. It may be that the Montesquian doctrine is all wrong. It may be that power need no longer be a check to power, although the crack of Soviet rifles before a wall, the crash of a Nazi axe on execution day, the Fascist interdiction of silk hats, and the compliance of an American congress still suggest that political "virtue has need of limitation" by fundamental law. At least we may say that the Montesquian doctrine concerns man, not his environment. It is a frontal attack on the ultimate problem: How best may society, in view of the realities of human nature, provide for the exercise of collective power?

Thus it is that the form of government becomes more vital than its substance and has more of permanency, for the form is referable to the durable nature of man; its substantive rules are referable to the shifting scenes of a vivid social drama.

What then may we conclude? If we desire a stable written constitution it must be based on psychological truth as it develops. Then we may attain an organic permanency which will enthrone, not entomb, human nature. And above all if constitutionalism, thus conceived, is the fruitage, in this our time, of the age-long craving of men for a higher law controlling government itself, then at last we may dare to hope that constitu-

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tional democracy, the noblest experiment of our age, will live to enrich and protect the lives of our children's children.

We need not explain the persistent faith in natural law. We need not extol that faith, nor need the realists inveigh against it. Be it said that there is no objective all-wise law which man does but discover. Much more potent is the inference to be drawn. The faith is the fact. The faith of two thousand years, unverified yet vital, manifests a spiritual uniformity, a deep urgency in human nature. It bespeaks an instinctive craving for "law about laws" which our Constitution supplies. It hints at a profound racial antagonism for all uncontrolled human power, an antagonism which derives from the deeps of our nature, from the passionate demand of mankind for equality.

I have sought to show in what deep soil lie buried the roots of constitutional democracy. In that concept there is a weird affinity between apparent opposites. The persistent urge of democracy toward popular sovereignty has strangely walked hand in hand with faith in a higher law, above kingdoms and democracies, a faith which is the ultimate tribute of the soul of man to the overlordship of reason, to the infinite, the unattainable.

Why be distressed at a dualism in government based on a dualism in human nature. Experience, not logic, is the life of man. But it may be there is no dualism. Experience of minority-ridden legislatures may ultimately prove that effective popular sovereignty itself depends upon limited government. In the epic of man's life the constitutional era is but the brief experience of a day, but the faith that formed it is an heritage from antiquity.

The immutable in government we have not yet found, we shall never find. Social control must wax and individual liberty must wane, till the great pendulum swing again. But the age-long search is not vain. Something of the immutable we have found, not in the law, but in man—the immutable will to believe—faith in a vision of reason and justice—a higher law, above and beyond our reach—toward which we strive—a faith which glorifies the labors of our little lives.

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Modern Views of the Evolution Theory

THOMAS HUNT MORGAN
Professor of Biology, California Institute of Technology

A FEW years ago some of the popular exponents of the theory of evolution tried to enlighten their audiences with the cryptic announcement that, although the theory of evolution is held today by all biologists, Darwin's theory of natural selection has been discarded. The motive behind this supposedly popular appeal is not far to seek. As long as the agencies that have brought about evolution are left vague and undetermined there remains the opportunity to assert that evolution has been purposefully guided. Any other theory of organic evolution, such as natural selection, appears mechanical, and this in certain quarters is regarded as impious. It is curious that the would-be popularizers of evolution forget that natural selection, stated baldly, is only a commonplace—or at least a statement that can scarcely be denied if an appeal is made to logic alone. The theory affirms that amongst the different kinds of individuals that are present in all species of animals and plants those best adapted to the old or to a new, or to a changing environment, will have the best chance of survival. No one is likely to dispute this argument, which sounds like a truism, but its premises call for critical scrutiny, since the success of the procedure will depend on whether the selection of any one of the kinds of individuals that are omnipresent can do more than produce more individuals of that kind. Unless variations appear that transcend the original limits of variability the argument is ineffective.

One of the premises implies that the individual differences are heritable and not simply fluctuations due to the environment. If due to the latter we now know that the differences are not heritable. Clearly then Darwin's theory of natural selection calls for further examination in order to find out whether the kind of

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evidence brought forward to support the theory is valid, and if not to find out whether other evidence of a similar kind, discovered since Darwin's time, may rehabilitate the theory of natural selection as a general principle of evolution. It is this contrast I should like to discuss.

Since Darwin's time biologists have examined more critically the evidence to which he appealed. Doubts have arisen as to whether the materials for natural selection are omnipresent as he believed. Darwin pointed to the individual differences that everyone can see for himself after even a superficial examination of any species of animals or of plants. He assumed that these differences are heritable, and that if selected they will move the species in the direction of selection; the implication being that in time selection will cause the differences to transcend the limits of the original variability. This conclusion, taken at the foot of the letter, has been disproven; therefore it has been rather hastily inferred that natural selection has gone bankrupt. But note: the so-called bankruptcy of natural selection means no more than that Darwin was mistaken, or at least obscure, as to the sources of the new types that make evolution possible.

Darwin rejected a possibility that has more recently been established as a fact. New transgressive types are now known to appear suddenly and to transmit their properties undiminished to some of their descendants. If, then, it could be shown that some of these types, which are called mutants, are as good as or better adapted types than the old ones they would furnish the kind of progressive changes that lead to evolution. Therefore if mutants are substituted for fluctuating variations, the argument for natural selection may appear to stand on substantial ground. Before following the mutation theory in its relation to Darwin's theory of natural selection the evidence for the modern standpoint with regard to the origin and inheritance of new characters must be examined in some detail.

After the discovery in 1900 of Gregor Mendel's long-lost paper, in which he formulated two fundamental laws of hered-

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ity, their wide application to animals and plants was largely a matter of routine. Ten years later two new laws of heredity could be formulated, namely, the law of linkage which states that the characters of the individual are inherited in great groups corresponding in number to the number of chromosomes in the germ-cells, and the law of crossing over which states that interchanges of blocks of linked genes may take place between homologous linkage groups.

These four fundamental laws can be deduced from a study of characters known to have arisen as mutants. Also in the case of Mendel's peas and of other cultivated plants and domesticated animals there can be little doubt that the different types originally arose by mutation. But until it can be shown that the differences between wild varieties have also arisen by mutation the application to the evolution theory of the known laws of heredity derived from known mutant types might be disputed. In fact even in recent years it has been said, but without any evidence at all, that mutants have nothing to do with progressive evolution of natural types. In the light of the fact that the only precise and verifiable laws of heredity are those that have come out of Mendel's discoveries, an affirmation of this sort places, one would think, a heavy responsibility on its sponsors; but it is not apparent that they realize the enormity of such an assertion. Scientists are certainly not likely to reject the laws of inheritance, based on quantitative and verifiable data, for purely imaginary substitutes. As a matter of fact there are many cases where certain of the differences in the characters of wild races have been shown to be inherited in the same way as are characters known to have arisen by mutation. The inference is obvious that these also have arisen by mutation.

Some of the heritable characters of races of mankind furnish excellent examples of the laws of Mendelian inheritance. For instance the inheritance of four blood groups follows Mendel's first law. There are three genes involved that have the same locus in one of the chromosomes. By recombination of the three genes the four kinds of individuals result, namely, AB, Ab, aB, ab. In

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different races of man these four kinds of individuals are differently distributed—that is, in different races the proportions of the four kinds of individuals are different. There is at present no evidence that one type has any advantage over the others. That two of the three genes involved have arisen by mutation of the third gene cannot be doubted. Again, blue and brown eyes, more or less characteristic of certain races, form a pair of hereditary unit characters. Other differences characterizing races are probably due to more than one pair of factors, such as hair color and skin color, and there are several hundred cases in which one or another type of abnormality in man is known to be inherited in accordance with Mendel's laws.

The point here is that the same laws of inheritance cover characteristics that are normal and those that are obviously abnormal. There is no evidence that mutant types are always injurious even if the extreme types, often selected by experimentalists, frequently are so.

A reasonable argument can be made to account for the greater frequency of appearances of deleterious mutants. For example: the development of the individual from an egg involves a long series of coordinating and interlocking processes which are the product of all or of many of the genes. Now if one gene should change (mutate) it is probable that several alterations would result in the developing individual. Such random changes are likely to lead to an end-result less suited to the environment to which the species has already acquired manifold adaptive relations; for organisms, as we know them, are closely adjusted to maintain themselves, both in their structural features and in their physiological reactions in highly complicated situations. Any radical change is much more likely to be disastrous than beneficial.

At first sight this argument may appear to be a serious indictment of the mutation theory. It will be so considered, I think, only if one has a pious, preconceived idea or a personal bias in favor of the belief that all changes in living things are beneficial. Such an impression has no doubt arisen from famili-

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arity with the regulatory changes that individuals sometimes exhibit when they meet with adverse environmental conditions. It is unwise, however, to carry over an impression of the behavior of living things from one field to another. Remarkable as are the regulatory processes of the body, there is nothing about them that certainly contradicts a possible scientific explanation; but to conclude that changes in the germ-cells, whether mutations or something unknown, must also be of such a kind that the animals produced from these cells will be better adapted to the old or to a new environment is a deduction for which there is no real justification.

After all, it is to the facts that we must appeal, and these facts are not disputable. Most of the individual variability everywhere present is known to be environmental, temporary, and not inherited. The rest of the smaller individual differences are due to inherited genetic factors. These we know in some cases do arise by mutation. There is no evidence that they originate as a responsive process that inherently better adjusts the organism to a change in the environment. In other words, there is no foresight in the matter. But if amongst the thousands of possible mutations of the germ-cells one or more should lead to an improvement in the old environment or to adjustments to a new environment, the requirements of the argument for natural selection are fulfilled.

It may seem, then, that we have arrived, in certain respects at least, at the same general conclusion to which Darwin came, namely, that evolution has taken place through random variability of small differences, and that *in their origins* the materials supplied have no purposeful connection with the ends they have come to subserve. But whereas Darwin referred to the small plus or minus variations everywhere present as furnishing the variations for progressive evolution, and assumed that many of these are inherited, we now know that most of such small differences are only environmental, that such fluctuating differences are not inherited, and that they therefore cannot furnish the steps by which evolutionary advances take place. We also

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know that some of the small plus and minus variations that are frequently present arise as mutations, and such variations are inherited. When they transcend the original limits of variability some of them might furnish the steps for progressive evolution.

These considerations are sometimes overlooked by those not familiar at first hand with the materials used by geneticists; and geneticists themselves may sometimes give the impression that the extreme modifications they deliberately choose for their experiments are the variations which supply the basis for evolution. As a matter of fact it can seldom happen that these sports are beneficial. Sometimes an extreme change in color or marking may serve as such a step in evolution, because it has adaptive value or perhaps more frequently because it is a by-product of some other advantageous minor change. But, except for such cases, Darwin's contention probably holds, namely, that extreme changes which are called sports can seldom be advantageous since they are likely to throw out of gear the extremely complex relation of the organism to its environment or the relation of its parts to one another. Only the small differences in size or fecundity or physiological responses, supplied by mutational changes, can be safely used in the argument for evolution.

The view that evolution depends on random mutation, sometimes interpreted to mean that evolution is due to chance, has been an unwelcome interpretation to many minds, convinced already that the evolution of living nature has been purposeful in the sense of being directed. To those harboring such convictions it seems inconceivable that a series of accidents (chance) could ever have built up organisms with their hundreds of interrelated parts working towards a common end, namely, the perpetuation of the individual or of the species. It has often been said that this is as inconceivable as that pieces of iron could accidentally fall into place and make an automobile. The fallacy in the argument has often been exposed. It ignores an essential feature of living things, a feature that puts the doctrine of evolution on a very different footing from that implied in the in-

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terpretation of accident versus design. Since living things, as we know them, have the property of multiplying themselves indefinitely, a chance variation favorable to the individual, if inherited, may be multiplied until it becomes a characteristic of all the individuals of a species. The species can then wait until another favorable variation appears and add this to the rest. If we may suppose that species have been evolved in this way, then the materials may be said to arise by chance, but fortunate events are held and perpetuated by manifolding each acquisition. Purpose, or design, does not come into the picture, because the appearance of the favorable variations has no relation to the use they may subsequently serve. Of course, once incorporated the new character might be said to have a purpose in so far as it increases the individual's chances of survival, but this is very different from the assumption that its origin was purposeful. That all the parts of now-existent organisms have come together at any one time by chance is of course a preposterous supposition, and it would not help the matter to assume that this could have happened even in a vast period of time. But the argument is fundamentally altered when advantageous properties are added one at a time, and then multiplied indefinitely, while injurious properties are eliminated.

Under the "purposeful" action of man human inventions also grow from simple beginnings to complicated structures, and since the human mind can to a limited degree look ahead and foresee useful changes, which would make a new invention more efficient, the evolution of human instruments is often a rapid procedure. Nevertheless chance plays a rôle here also. In the evolution of living things, however, there is no need to postulate the kind of foresight man employs in the creation of new and complicated machines. If purpose means foresight it may seem better to avoid the use of the word altogether when speaking of evolution, although, as stated above, a meaning may still be attached to it if the usefulness of a new character, its survival value *after* it has appeared, is recognized as a part of the evolutionary procedure.

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Returning to the rôle of natural selection in evolution, and more particularly to the part played by those heritable variations we now call mutations, certain problems can hardly escape critical attention. There is, first, the generality of the argument, namely, that if so-and-so happens then this-or-that may result. It is not the kind of evidence that satisfies modern science. There are no measurements, no quantitative data; the argument is based on supposition, or on probability conceded without proof. Until recently Darwin's argument was as unsupported by direct evidence as when he first proposed it in 1865. With the precision with which the facts of heredity can now be marshalled, students of genetics realize how relatively unsatisfactory is the status of other parts of the evolution theory. They do not doubt that the theory of descent with divergence is essentially correct as a generalization. All the greater is the need to support it by experimental evidence and by observations in the open. The difficulty in doing so is very great, for it would be necessary to get a precise evaluation of any new variation if it is to become incorporated in the species and establish itself there. Owing to the complexity of environmental relations and the periodic ups and downs of the external world the difficulty of getting such information on a large scale in nature is nearly insuperable. But once in a while some evidence becomes available—as when, for example, an immune individual and its offspring survive the total destruction of the rest of the species.

Another procedure can also be followed. By assigning an arbitrary numerical value to a mutant type, its chances of getting established may be formulated mathematically. Such equations are helpful in sharpening the issues involved, and may also serve an important rôle in placing in a more critical setting the rather loose general arguments formerly indulged in by students of natural selection. It is none the less evident that actual data for specific cases are needed, and it is encouraging that such data are being slowly accumulated from several sources.

In the opening paragraphs it was implied that the theory of natural selection as promulgated by Darwin was not bankrupt

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but on the contrary it could, in the light of more recent evidence, be affirmed with more assurance. It may be questioned, however, whether what we mean today by the mutation theory in terms of survival value is only a revamping of the older theory. In fact the two views can be brought into rather sharp contrast, as Hogben in particular has strongly emphasized. For example: if there were room enough on the earth for all the types that have appeared as mutations, and they all survived, there would be amongst them all the types now living. It would seem to follow that if, amongst the countless types that have appeared (the rest being eliminated), only those forms now existent have been able to maintain themselves, this is not because natural selection has had anything to do with their origin. Natural selection, if expressed as an agent in the outcome, would only account for the destruction of the unfit. The absence of the unfit explains only the gaps between the types that have survived.

Contrasting this statement with what Darwin has usually been supposed to mean there is not much doubt that Darwin, and more especially his contemporaries—Wallace for example—believed that "hereditary characteristics could only survive if the supposed tendency to dilution of characters by crossing were counteracted by the elimination of individuals at the other end of the scale of variability" (Hogben). It is this aspect of the subject that appears to give a sort of creative meaning to Darwin's theory, but this is no longer acceptable and is not implied in the mutation theory. When the mutationist uses the words natural selection he places a different interpretation on the rôle of natural selection in the theory of evolution. The difference between the two views is found in the kind of materials that are supposed to make evolution possible and in the way in which those materials have brought about evolutionary changes. The mutationist's interpretation rests on the demonstrable appearance of entirely new characters that are inherited in specific ratios. And since they are not swamped by outcrossing, as Darwin supposed to happen in the case of individual variation, the theory of natural selection has taken a new lease of life.

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The Tune Detective Goes Collegiate

SIGMUND SPAETH[1]

THERE is a story about a pet chameleon whose owner, after experimenting with various solid colors, put it on a piece of plaid and the little animal "busted itself trying to make good." That is just about what happens to a Tune Detective when he finds himself prowling around the composite college campus.

Our collegians borrowed most of their good tunes, but they knew where to find them, and in many cases the unanimity of their approval is remarkable. The old Irish melody, "Annie Lisle," for example, also known as "Amici," has been used by no less than seventeen colleges and over a hundred schools as an Alma Mater song. Cornell heads the list with "Far Above Cayuga's Waters," closely followed by Syracuse, Lehigh and the Universities of Chattanooga, Kansas, Missouri and North Carolina ("Hark the Sound of Tarheel Voices"). Ireland also scores with "Fair Harvard," to the familiar tune "Believe me if all those endearing young charms," which also inspired the "Old Gold" of Iowa State.

Almost as popular as "Annie Lisle" is the Latin "Lauriger Horatius," best known in America as "Maryland, My Maryland," and in Germany as a Christmas song, "Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum." Cornell uses it too, as an evening song; at Pennsylvania it is called "We Gather Here," and it appears also at New York University, Mount Holyoke and elsewhere.

Lots of Princeton men do not realize that the words of "Old Nassau" were originally set to the Scotch tune of "Auld Lang Syne"—which stands high among college favorites of the nationalistic type, numbering among its offspring "The Good Old Days at Penn," "In Praise of M.S.U." (Missouri) and that

[1] This is the first time that Mr. Spaeth, author of many books on music, serious and ribald, has ever tracked college songs to their respective and generally respectable lairs.

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classic of the old college song-books, "Bohunkus." Karl Langlotz composed his fine Princeton tune only after the words of "Old Nassau" had become established.

The Irish "Son of a Gambolier" has known even more college life than "Auld Lang Syne," appearing at West Point as "He done his level best," at Hobart as "A Son of a Gun," at Georgia Tech as "A Rambling Wreck" and in Missouri as "A Son of Old Missouri"—not to speak of its original form and the "Dunderbeck" version, both popular in many colleges. It is only a step from the "Gambolier" to "Solomon Levi," originally written by a Hobart man but now best known through the M.I.T. "Take me back to Tech" and the far western "Utah Man."

The French flavor appears in that popular tune, "Vive la Compagnie" (also known by its chorus opening as "Vive l'Amour"), which has found a place in most of the old college song-books in its original form and also boasts special words for New York University and a curious adaptation known as "Vive les Rutgers' Sons"!

The West Point Alma Mater has the German melody, "Ach, wie ist's möglich dann?" ("How can I leave thee?"), also used at Western Reserve University as "Dear Old Reserve." "Army Blue," however, is of American origin, coming from that old close harmony favorite, "Aura Lee," known at N.Y.U. as "The Violet." "Goodnight, Navy," is naturally an adaptation of "Goodnight, Ladies," and that dignified hymn, "Old Pennsylvania," has to admit descent from a ribald ditty called "My Last Cigar" (" 'Twas off the blue Canaries," etc.). The University of Pennsylvania made a more sprightly use of "John Brown's Body," which to serious music-lovers remains "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and whose other versions include the Grasshopper Song, "Glory for Columbia," and "Old John Henry Hobart will be turning in his grave." Colgate's Alma Mater is to the old "Juanita" tune.

Among still further borrowings to be found in college music mention should be made of Princeton's "Whoop her up" song, which goes back to George Root's "Music in the Air," a tune

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also echoed at Haverford and N.Y.U. and at least partially responsible for the Hawaiian "Aloha Oe." "Old College Chum" is a widely popular version of that 19th century favorite, "Sweet Genevieve." The physiologically detailed "Virgin Sturgeon," claimed chiefly by Williams, is to the tune of "Reuben and Rachel" ("Reuben, Reuben, I've Been Thinking"). "My comrades, when I'm no more drinking," sung in its original form at Yale, Columbia and Amherst, later became also "Dear Bucknell" and Haverford's "Breakfast." That beautiful melody, "Long, long, ago," supports a burlesque "Romeo and Juliet" as well as the bawdy "Down on the Farm," beloved by the Mendelssohn and University Glee Clubs of New York. An ancient comic song known as "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark" reappears in a slightly altered form as "Dives had a Son," in the Amherst song-book (crediting an original "Scots' War Song") and eventually as "Swarthmore had a Son," a reminder of the glorious football rivalry of the past between the warring Quakers of Swarthmore and Haverford. Curiously enough the melody we call "America," which has been used as a national anthem by fourteen different countries, has been almost ignored by the colleges, the outstanding exception being George Washington University, for which of course it was automatic. The Croatian folk-song which Haydn turned into the Austrian hymn, later anathematized as "Deutschland über Alles," and sanctified in every hymn-book, appears as an Alma Mater song at Columbia University, Pittsburgh, Western Reserve and a few other places. Everybody ought to know that Yale's "Bright College Years" is to the tune of the German "Watch on the Rhine" (which is closely related to "The Star Spangled Banner" as it happens). "Hail, Pennsylvania" is of course the old Russian hymn, also popular in our churches and appearing in Tschaikowsky's "1812 Overture." The Navy's "Benny Havens" is the same as the Irish "Wearing of the Green," and the Welsh "March of the Men of Harlech," one of the oldest of military tunes, has been used by Georgetown and several other colleges. The French "Marseillaise" has been adapted to collegiate purposes here and

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there, and Quaker Haverford's official anthem, "Comrades," is the Canadian march, "Soldiers of the King" (or "Queen").

There are also unintentional reminiscences to be found in college music. The much-radioed "Maine Stein Song," for example, has a Brahms Hungarian dance for its melodic ancestor, with touches of "Our Director" in the rhythmic scheme. "Fordham Ram" is an ascending scale going back directly to the Scotch "Robin Adair" (which has an Irish parallel, with a more recent echo in the French "Madelon"). A somewhat similar scale tune is the famous "W. and J. Swing," by Thornton Allen, editor of one of the best of the college song-books. This fine melody reappears as a Football Song at the University of Chattanooga and also as "Colorado Men" and "Fight for Dickinson." There is a rather brazen imitation in the familiar "Betty Co-ed"—that prolific lady, indeed, has already become the mother of a whole flock of pseudo-collegiate songs, all hinting, to say the least, at a promiscuity of varsity letters and fraternity pins.

With the appearance of such synthetic musical concoctions as "All-American Girl" the Tune Detective is forced to leave the college campus and return sadly to Tinpan Alley, which already has a volunteer alumni body similar to that of Notre Dame (in its good years) or the victorious Lions of Columbia. He has at least the consolation of knowing that a few collegians have turned out sterling examples of original song-writing, including such gems as Kenneth Clark's "Going Back to Nassau Hall," Sanger Steele's "Harvardiana," Shelley Hamilton's "Lord Jeffrey Amherst," Linn Seiler's "For Haverford," and Stanleigh Friedman's "March, March on Down the Field." Princeton can also point with pride to the Cannon March of Hewitt and Osborne and to the beautiful Step Song of Ernest Carter. There is a charming bit of harmony by George Smith called "Secrets" that they sing at Wesleyan (and now also in a good many other colleges); but these are only parts of a long and honorable list. With so many collegians proving their ability to compose good songs one ends by wondering just why so large a percentage of college music should still be second-hand.

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The Church's Manward Direction

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ANY one interested in social movements must have noticed the increasing part played by voluntary associations or groups in society. The most obvious of all groups is the state but since men are born into states and practically have little choice as to the country of which they will be citizens, that is not a voluntary association. Within the nation are other organizations to which citizens can, generally speaking, belong or not, as they please. This statement is not quite exact, for some voluntary organizations reach far beyond the limits of any single state; and some have so much power that, through economic pressure, they can virtually force men to join them, physically compelling the social results they desire. In our own land even the Supreme Court has recognized financial associations—corporations—as at least *quasi* personalities with rights and duties at one time thought of as belonging almost wholly to individuals, in the strict sense. This idea finds its extreme statement in the maintenance, by the Supreme Court, of a corporation's right to insist that it cannot be deprived of property without due process of law—a provision originally intended to protect freed slaves in the South.

A church—a local church or a religious denomination—is to be regarded as thus a *quasi* personality and as such has certain rights as well as duties. As a holder of property, for example, it must meet the duties of property-holders. Just how far its rights extend is impossible of definition, but important bodies of churchmen increasingly insist that churches have both rights and duties in the following directions.

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Chiefly the churches, acting singly or together, have as a right and duty what may be called collective or corporate expression of opinion, or perhaps better, of statement of ideals. There are those who admit such right of collective utterance, but only when the Church confines itself to what seems to be the Godward side of religious activity. A distinguished college president some time ago told us that all official church pronouncements, as well as the pulpit utterances of ministers, should aim at the development of the mystic sense, without reference to social concerns. But all such insistence misses the fact that religion has a manward as well as a Godward direction, and often the preaching of mysticism is most heartily welcomed by those who wish the churches not to have anything to say upon social concerns. There is good ground for the belief that present-day emphasis on mysticism tends to take the minds of men off those spheres of human contacts in which religion has always found its most convincing expressions.

Those who oppose Church utterances on social themes are always insisting that the churches confine themselves to individuals as such—that religion has its true seat in a man's aloneness. The trouble here is that there are no individuals as such—that individuals today are enmeshed in social relationships virtually all-compelling—relationships that count more for the shaping of individual character than can a man's own choices. If we seek to maintain that character is won by the choices of individuals we may well ask ourselves just what spheres of choice are open to the ordinary man today. What chance does his aloneness get? A few years ago many churches became seriously disturbed by what seemed like an over-emphasis on the so-called social gospel, and directed church visitors to seek out individuals, using the old-fashioned, personal approach. At once, in locality after locality, it appeared that the personal approach was futile because of the individual's dependence upon economic or racial or political forces over which he had no control. In fact much can be said for the claim that the churches today are laboring to create social conditions which will help individuals to a better chance

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—to make a high plateau of general welfare from which those who can use higher, will get their full opportunity.

In addition we must recall that in lands like ours democracy, just because of its hugeness, has terrible possibilities. A majority of 120,000,000 persons—in other words 60,000,000 human beings, their minds set in a given direction—constitute an appalling social force, almost a cosmic force; and indispensable to its direction is a mass of informed moral opinion such as that which a religious denomination can create—especially where essential human values are involved. There are experts in social theory today, like Principal A. D. Lindsay of Balliol, who maintain that democracies the size of those of England and the United States are safe only as they include within themselves large voluntary associations of like-minded persons whose devotion to high human ideals will serve to steady the larger general social masses. Take the quickness with which the general mass responds under some circumstances and the sluggishness of its reaction on others. A skillful demagogue might become so much a master of radio appeal that he could almost overnight sweep a democracy off its feet if he did not encounter the resistance of massed opinion in behalf of high ideals as those are taught by educational organizations or declared by unions of workers or proclaimed by churches. By this last I mean not theological or in any degree technical religious ideas, but the values we think of as preeminently human.

The truth is that men in the mass act differently from the way they act when the individuals of the group move separately, and consequently social action is often of lower quality than individual action. It is commonly assumed, in fact, that men in groups do not act on the high moral plane of their nobler individuals. In so far as this is true it is the duty of the Church to see that the like-mindedness of its members keeps mass-action from sinking to the level of the herd or the mob. May it not be, however, that there is a lofty possibility here—that mass action may be made higher than that of individuals taken separately? Crowd contagion might conceivably be noble and not base. An audience of

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a thousand people listening to a superb musical triumph may attain an exaltation not possible to individuals listening separately. Not always must the possibilities unfolded in individuals under the stimulus of group contact move down and not up. Whether mistaken or not, religious leaders are today trying to use concerted collected group forces for the sake of making those forces lift individuals to a level they could not reach acting separately and alone.

This is akin to saying that Churches must take seriously their duties toward public opinion. Primarily that consists in keeping aloft the best ideals attainable for social action—chiefly the worth of men as ends-in-themselves. It is often assumed that Kant was the first to insist that a man is an end-in-himself, that he is not to be taken as a mere instrument in the hands of other men. But fundamentally this idea is Christianity, and the Judaism out of which Christianity came. It is an essential of that Hebrew prophecy which was so significant for the society of Israel and for every high civilization since.

Here rises again the claim that if the churches will see to converting individuals, social concerns will take care of themselves. Converting individuals to what? If individuals are converted to a merely personal set of religious ideas and feelings and actions, social concerns will indeed take care of themselves; they will run down hill or straight into the hands of the enemies of society. A fiery militarist once urged on me the duty of preaching personal immortality to soldiers. I was not aware of any especial religious interest in his mind and asked why I should preach thus. The reply was that believers in personal immortality make the best soldiers. This man might better have preached Mohammedanism, for notoriously the Mohammedan's belief in a paradise opening immediately before a dying warrior makes for ferocity in battle. All this aside, however, religious conversion may conceivably be the acceptance of a body of religious beliefs at variance with the interests of the Christian kingdom of heaven, and in war the conversion of soldiers might fiercen conflict by lending a religious sanction to the strife.

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Personal duties today are so interlaced with our conceptions of social obligations that we must deal with these also if we are to make individual conversion mean much. The proclamation of an uncompromising social ideal then is of surpassing importance as we consider the Church in the world in which we live.

Many object that the official proclamation of an ideal by a Church is futile because the ideal is stated in terms so high that in economic and international and racial problems it is unattainable; that the ideal therefore falls into futility and makes the Church seem ineffectual. This objection is largely mistaken. First of all it is not true that Church pronouncements attract no notice. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America publishes a weekly information sheet chiefly devoted to social issues. As an official of the Council I was for four years in a position to judge whether the pronouncements were read. Let a criticism touching any industrial institution's policies appear and I heard from the institution soon enough. Let any denominational board declare for economic improvement and the groups affected at once became vocal. The statement of an ideal may not lead to acceptance forthwith, but if it gets an issue up for discussion it renders a most useful social function.

The only way to get an ideal effectively before the public mind is to state it uncompromisingly. The virtue of an ideal is that it is, at least at first, above and beyond our reach. If his ideals fell short of perfection no scientist or artist would be worth heeding. One of the chief glories of Christianity is that it deliberately aims at personal and social perfection, and the statement of such aims is a determining and controlling factor in personal and social moral progress. Admittedly the institution setting up the loftiest ideal falls short of realization, but it serves mightily in getting the ideal clearly stated. Sometimes it seems true that a religious assembly sees and states a conception to which the individual members cannot attain in practice, just as a group may attain an insight deeper than that possible to an individual. It may even be that a Eugene V. Debs, outside

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churches altogether, lays hold of an element of a Christian ideal more firmly than any members of a church in his time, and practices it better—as when a Debs declares that he himself is not free as long as any man is in prison. This only sets the ideal higher, even at the cost of making clear the distance between the Church's vision and the reality. Christianity is like a garden bearing precious seeds which the winds of the world's life have borne far out beyond the walls of the garden itself, the ideals falling into soil at times more fertile than any supplied by the Church.

Most clearly the social function of the Church is that of declaring and propagating ideals and of developing the social spirit. Especially must the Church be careful in its endorsement of the technical means by which the ideal is set to work in specific situations. A Church has as much right, for example, as any other organization to maintain a lobby at Washington to watch our social legislation. To maintain such a lobby, however, would be to lay the Church open to grave question. For legislative lobbying ordinarily involves understandings and agreements and bargains among agents for various causes, and like a shield there are two sides to a bargain, one of which may easily be of ill repute. It is better, therefore, for the Church to create a public demand than to use a lobby.

This power to create a public demand is the key to many situations. Reactionary agencies delight to ask of those calling for social change just how the changes are to be effectuated, and churchmen are now and again reduced to silence by the challenge to show how a social change can be "implemented," to use the term which seems popular just now. We must keep clearly before us, however, that implementation is not necessarily the task of the Church, but of technical experts. Religious sentiment has for long been back of the introduction of safety-devices to protect workers in dangerous industries. With scorn the steel manufacturers of fifty years ago met the demands, made by ministers working near the steel mills, for safety devices for steel workers. What did a preacher know about the steel busi-

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ness? Very little, probably, on the technical side, but on the human he knew some things better than anyone else. The preacher knew more than that there were a good many one-legged men around steel mills. He knew how many workers were killed or injured month by month and what happened to their families. But today the steel industry is probably better fitted with protective appliances than any other industry in the country. In bringing this about the general rise in the level of a sense of social responsibility was the most effective factor—and in lifting this level the Church did its part.

The living issues before us today, however, are much more vital than those that can be handled by mechanical engineers. They have to do with proposed fundamental reorganizations, chiefly in industry. It is fast becoming a commonplace in social theory that much individual wealth created by society itself —at least by the very fact that people live together in groups —finds its way to the pockets of individuals. It is group activity that gives us roads and schools, towns and cities. Society at present allows as profits to individuals many prizes to which it might lay claim itself were it not for the common understanding, or misunderstanding, that the lure of such prizes is a spur to individual incentive. But in any case there is a changing attitude here, and this throws a double duty on a Church socially alert —namely, that in this change the large questions of human welfare have the right of way. These human values are as nearly absolute as any we can find in all our social searches. There is also the other obligation to make these changes in the light of the most adequate knowledge we can obtain. Here is the field of the social expert—and here the Church must heed the expert.

The obligation of the Church to follow absolute human values is all the more binding because the Church itself as an organization is closely knit into whatever economic system may prevail at a given period. In a feudalistic era even the theology of the Church is colored by feudalistic assumptions. In a capitalistic day the Church draws its support from capitalism and uses capitalistic methods. Why? Because there may be at the moment

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no other methods. Ought not the Church then to keep silent as to the evils of capitalism? Hardly. The Church has a right to consider itself commissioned to point out the evils of the system of which it is a part. Of course this is largely a counsel of perfection, for up to date the Church, organizationally speaking, has too often given itself strenuously to defence of established orders. But the Church can best make atonement for its blindness of the past by opening its eyes to the social challenge of the present. Let it be understood that this has to do with the Church on its formal organizational side. The redemptive fact is that the ideas and spirit released in society by the Church so often go forth, though without the blessing of the Church, to work for the blessing of men. It is a fair question whether often the Church as an organization does not best serve society by releasing ideas which prophets outside the Church use better than those within.

Has the Christian a right to obey a law higher than that of society—the dictates of one's conscience—or one's God? There is but one answer; of course he has this right, or rather this duty. Drop out of human history the deeds of those who insisted upon obeying God rather than men and not much will be left worth telling. Only the servant of the higher law ought to know that he will get into trouble, and ought to be willing to take the consequences of his speech or deed. This is mostly a pagan world, and pagans know how to take vengeance on anything genuinely Christian. A conscientious objector to war ought not to make too much outcry about being sent to jail. There is a practical force which can work for good here. Jail enough conscientious objectors and the good sense of the ordinary plain man is roused. He sees the need in time of crisis of having as many conscientious people as possible outside of jail.

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Incredible Recoil

A Study in Aspiration

TOWNSEND SCUDDER III
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ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, Oxford scholar, recently appointed Fellow of Oriel College, erstwhile star pupil of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, was in his twenty-ninth year —a critical one—when he met Ralph Waldo Emerson. Like many other young citizens of Britain he was familiar with the American's writings before their creator's visit to England in 1847–1848. The cadence of Emerson's phrases had echoed through the University common rooms and in the hearts of certain young men there, like Delphic music. In those days, the early forties, Oxford was in the mood for hearing voices, and Emerson, with Goethe, Newman, and Carlyle was a great favorite. There were evenings of enchantment at the house of Dr. Henry Acland who held the chair of anatomy at the University but shared the keenness of many great medical men for things of the mind and spirit—evenings when Francis Palgrave read aloud some passage from Emerson or recited poetry from the rich store that his sensitive critical taste was already laying by for the future *Golden Treasury*.

When Clough learned from his sister that Emerson was in Liverpool he wrote to him a cordial and earnest invitation to visit Oxford. "Your name is not a thing unknown to us. I do not say it would be a passport in a society fenced about by Church-Articles. But amongst the juniors there are many that have read and studied your books, and not a few that have largely learnt from them would gladly welcome their author." Emerson replied that there were few places in England so attractive to him as the University town. He arrived there the last of March 1848 and spent three days.

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In spite of Clough's warning the visitor found no cause to regret his temerity. Everybody liked him and since the orthodox mostly had never heard of him they did not suspect him. Clough was completely won by his guest's unobtrusiveness. He was the quietest, most modest person. He talked with, not at you, and wholly declined to roar in the manner of great men. True, he was very Yankee to look at, lean and tall, and not quite without the New England twang, yet his voice possessed an ingratiating music and gave the impression of perfect intellectual cultivation. Clough found himself comparing his visitor with the foremost men of science of the day—with Faraday and Owen—and Emerson did not shrink in the comparison. Not even Wordsworth or Carlyle could measure up so readily beside these scientists—certainly Carlyle had no such poised equanimity and sureness with which to help himself and others to receive the disconcerting impacts of life.

When Emerson took a short vacation in Paris before his London lectures Clough was with him. And when he stood on the deck of the ship ready to sail home to America Clough was by his side to bid him farewell. The young Oxford scholar dreaded to break the strong, unseen tendrils of sympathy and understanding which drew him to Emerson. Liberal in his attitude toward life, subtle and profound in thought, gifted with a searching, questioning intellect, Clough, in 1848, was the victim of his own unwillingness to accept anything which might conceivably turn from truth to formula. He fixed one with a glance that cut like steel through all defenses, his eyes almost terrifying in their keen look of investigation. Yet there was a sensitivity about him, a delicacy and tenderness, which sheathed the barb of his glance. Emerson loved Clough. He wanted to help him. As the two friends paced the deck of the vessel which was to bear them apart Clough turned suddenly, almost beseechingly, to his companion.

"What shall we do without you? Think where we are. Carlyle has led us all out into the desert, and has left us there."

Emerson gazed at his burly, well-knit, robust young friend

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who stood nevertheless so helplessly before him. Half whimsically, half seriously, his heart stirred to its very depths, he placed his hand on Clough's head.

"Clough," he said, "I consecrate you Bishop of all England. It shall be your part to go up and down through the desert to find out these wanderers and lead them into the promised land."

Soon Emerson's ship was steaming down the Mersey from Liverpool, to lose itself to the eye of the beholder in the huge welter of the Atlantic.

One day, late in December, Emerson chanced to pause before the counters of a Boston bookstore. Idly he fingered the leaves of this volume and of that. Here was a curious title: *The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich!* Bothie; what did that mean—a little bower, a cottage, was it? With increasing attention he skimmed through the pages. The book dealt, he perceived, with Oxford undergraduates—a party of them reading with a tutor during the long summer vacation in preparation for the examinations that ended the final term. Such was their custom he knew—to choose some pleasant region (as these had chosen the Scottish Highlands) and there with books and vigorous physical life make ready for the college doomsday. His all too brief stay among them had whetted his eager curiosity over these Oxford gownsmen. He rejoiced to find this narrative poem which would bring them in person before him. But chiefly he rejoiced in a second discovery, totally unexpected: the poem was by his staid and reticent friend, his good Oxonian host, Arthur Hugh Clough.

At home that evening Emerson read the *Bothie* through. How one of the collegians, Philip, weary of books, left the group to wander among the hills; how he met and courted first a lively, shallow Scottish lassie, next a high-born lady (these two rather idly), and last the maiden who lived in the bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich and in her found both the love and the symbol of democratic ideals he had been searching for—that was the simple enough thread of the plot from which Clough had woven so rich a texture.

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It was a marvel how Clough had concealed from him this genius, this sensitive gift for imagery, this broad, humorous, and kindly understanding of human nature and the problems of adolescence. Emerson felt almost vexed that during his brief acquaintanceship with Clough he had been so fooled into mistaking for the whole man what he now perceived could have been but a fraction. Certain things in the poem were quite to be expected—its republicanism for instance. In England he had found the young Oxonian's brave pamphlet on the Irish distresses that resulted from the terrible famine of 1847. He was aware of the vehement indignations which brooded under Clough's calm and gentle nature: the outraged sense of justice which compelled the Fellow of rich, proud Oriel College to denounce from the very seat of privilege the carelessness and selfishness of the thoughtless or indifferent possessors of wealth and to urge on them self-sacrifice for the poor. What took Emerson quite by surprise was the frolicsomeness of the poem; its freshness, its richness in the wine of youth. It was full of exuberant animal spirits. This quality at first seemed not at all consistent with the grave young man whom he had met at Oxford, who carried, as his special responsibility, the weight of the world on his shoulders and knew no remedies with which to lighten the burden.

Emerson had of course recognized his young friend's learnedness. And the verses gleamed throughout with the intellectual light of Oxford. But they glowed with the well-muscled healthiness of boys and with their delight in living. Gradually Emerson's more obscure memories recalled Clough's flashes of vivacity during their excursions together through the intricate and varied maze of Paris. Why yes, now that he thought of it, he had really come to discover Paris, the kindly, fascinating, livable town, through Clough's guidance, shaking off the Puritan aversion which had spoiled the city for him in 1833, the year of his first visit. Clough, his friend remembered, in those pauses of relaxation from serious living had enjoyed life with gusto. How gaily he spent his money in Parisian cafés!

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What a delightful companion he had been when he released the brakes that held him in check! A singular person Emerson now felt him to be. Indeed a complete reappraisal was imperative. Poem and man assumed special charms by the study of the one through the other. Clough did not separate his genius from himself. His poem was a mirror that reflected an endearing image.

At Oxford Emerson had seen the tutors and students hampered by the restraints of term time. With the aid of the *Bothie* he was learning to see Clough and the undergraduates in the joys of their freer life. They climbed the heathery mountains; they ran races; they plunged with daring skill into the green depths of a pool, dropping like swallows from the granite ledges over which poured the amber flood of the waterfall. Competent, brave, lovable youths they were, varied in type yet each stamped by Oxford with the mark of her natural aristocracy—the dandy, resplendent in blue waistcoat gorgeously ornamented with buttons of coral; the tutor, grave and old in learning, skilled in ethics and logic yet wise also in knowledge of the minds and hearts of his young men; the carelessly well-dressed young man of the world, lively, cheerful, cigar-loving—a witty dialectician in the game of coining words—inventing for the group's amusement a whole new language, a word to label every occasion. These and others, characters which he had sensed yet not fully known in the University town, lived and breathed and faced the world squarely and gaily in this saga of a vacation in the Highlands.

When Emerson bade Clough a reluctant farewell at Liverpool the older man had sensed that Clough was in danger of sloughing off all beliefs. No man, even for the sake of truth, can go intellectually naked through the world. While Emerson had faith in his friend's star he nevertheless felt some fears for its dimming. Clough seemed so puzzled, so uncertain of the road. The *Bothie* was a mighty reassurance. It was the work of a man secure in his attitude toward life; it was spoken with the voice of a conqueror. Philip, the young collegian who was

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the central figure of the poem, was guided skilfully through the treacherous waters of adolescence to the sure land of a forward-looking career. When he and Elspie MacKaye, the Highland girl, married in violation of the musty social conventions of old England they left behind them the outworn land, which offered so little promise, for a pioneering life in New Zealand, to plant there, along with corn and flax, the seeds of a new democracy. Tilling the earth, teaching it to produce, forcing it to his will, Philip also instructed his own soul to be obedient to the laws of the Universe. His youthful radicalism, his chartism, his hatred of Lords and Ladies were to lose their scornfulness and other juvenilities; the fundamental urge for the rebuilding of the world was to remain. Surely Clough was now master of himself and certain of the way. How else could he handle with such deftness, such humor, such penetrating discernment, the cruel puzzlements of youth, and its joys as well as its hells?

Tennyson would have to look to his laurels! Furthermore this was a kind of fresh and better Carlyle, Emerson reflected, rejoicing in his new friend. Here was the tone Carlyle had lost when he turned his back on the future to look toward the past. Here was modern treatment of a truly modern question, done with a vigorous abundance of experience. Emerson clearly perceived that the poem and its author constituted the most real benefits which he had drawn from his British visit. Might Clough himself, in the fields of action and intellect, follow the pioneering career he had set before Philip! Such was Emerson's devout wish. He loved to quote verses from the *Bothie* as he walked to Walden Pond—they harmonized so well with the exhilarating music that breathed through the tall pines.

Emerson fully expected the news when a letter came announcing that Clough had severed his connections with Oxford. From his association abroad with Clough he had been made aware of the impending step. He quite realized that his young friend, in giving up his distinguished position, was leaving a career of brilliant prospects. Yet was not the world a broad field for Clough's tilling? Was he not fashioned of the stuff that

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works success? And surely the man who had written so brave, so hearty, so humorous a poem as the *Bothie* had acted with wisdom in leaving Oriel College. Walls of dogma should not be permitted to confine so free and promising a spirit. Oxford had blundered into the incredible folly of describing the poem as indecent and profane, immoral and communistic.

University Hall, an adjunct of non-sectarian London University was henceforth to be Clough's address. He had been awarded the headship there.

But with the summer of 1852 came a letter from Clough which delighted Emerson, filled him with fresh amazement and also with a kind of sorrow for England. England, it seemed, was not furnishing the proper environment for Clough's anticipated success and he was harboring the thought of crossing the Atlantic to fashion a career for himself in America. University Hall had not prospered and a professorship at London University, Clough's sole position, carried an honorarium of only £30 a year. Like his hero Philip, Clough wished to marry, and for bread there was need to grow such wheat as he could. Of course there was a tremendous injustice, a sort of malicious humor, in the thought of Clough's safest means of support. That an Oxford top-sawyer should be forced to tutor the dunderheaded sons of the rich in order to win a living seemed an assault on the fitness of things. Yet such employment could be found as readily on one side of the Ocean as on the other. And Emerson was sure that America was a land of many opportunities for a man of Clough's abilities, prestige, and titles. The British were perishable merchandise to bring over the Atlantic. They did not transplant well in the thin soil of New England. Yet for Clough Emerson held no fears and he urged him to come by the first boat to survey the prospects.

How good it was to see his friend again! Emerson was somewhat puzzled by the sense of weariness which Clough occasionally displayed; it seemed hardly in keeping with the resilient spirit that had created the *Bothie*. But the older man put aside his misgivings. Clough was a stout, solid, reliable man. And

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he appeared to fit in so well. He had none of the insular narrowness, the hereditary prejudices, which so often rendered British visitors intolerant and intolerable. Clough's liberal turn of mind harmonized admirably with the temper of American life. Like the hero of the *Bothie* he was destined to be a colonizer, though as a sower of seed for the mind, in a free and welcoming land, on a soil truly republican. The Englishman was taking a generous interest in the activities of his new friends and was himself contributing wise articles to American periodicals, *Putnam's* and the *North American Review*. He was working on a revision of Dryden's translation of *Plutarch's Lives* and would publish under American imprint volumes worthy of Oxford scholarship. He had even acquired a taste for American soda water! Here at last was an English oak which would prosper in the replanting, a tree pushing down new roots, shooting out fresh, vigorous growth, giving promise of becoming a landmark for the delight of beholders. Emerson promised himself future joys in seeking its grateful shade.

Meanwhile Clough, trustful of greater things, gathered about him a little flock of tutees, and Emerson went happily about his own business. The active lecturer, secure in his hopes for his friend, was away much of the time on extensive tours and in the interim there were week-ends of sociability at Concord. Clough may have found some lack of scholars to teach in Boston and Cambridge; certainly he found no neglect on the part of his new world in respect to hospitality and entertainment. He was welcomed with every sign of good fellowship. The Americans liked him, his combination of earnest thinking and genial humor. They liked to hear his wise speech and to watch the play of his poetic fancy. Before some, the more pompous and established, perhaps, he became silent as an oyster. But for the most part he was fortunate in his New England friendships. With Emerson there were long hours of animated talk and argumentation. Emerson generally loathed debate but with Clough he found it a stimulating and joyous business, for his young friend was always gentle and good tempered. As for

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Clough his conviction grew daily firmer that Emerson was the best man in New England. But he found also other kindred spirits, persons nearer his own age. There was Charles Eliot Norton, son of a wealthy family. Clough frequently visited him at Shady Hill, dazzling the young Bostonian's eyes with the textures of his gorgeous dressing gowns (Norton, though of ascetic temperament, possessed nevertheless a faint trace of the orchidaceous, a tendency held for the most part in check by the rigorous northern climate). Although Clough lived much of the time with the severity of a monk, something of the Oxford delight in dress was in his blood, and his occasional manifestations of it in Cambridge, Boston, and Concord, when he dressed in a superb and radiant manner, piqued the interest of the less gaudily plumaged natives. The Nortons were as brothers and sisters to him; for Emerson he had a more filial regard. In a word, though he frequently amazed them he was a success among these New Englanders. Emerson gave him a banquet at the Tremont Hotel and the best men attended—Longfellow and Hawthorne, Ellery Channing and Lowell, Greenough the sculptor, and Charles Sumner and Theodore Parker. It was very swell, a grand party, Clough, who was not backward in acquiring the idiom, informed his fiancée in England.

He walked frequently with Emerson. The two would follow the path to Walden or seek the higher blueberry patches. Clough sent to his future wife a piece of bark from the canoe birch, a token gathered on one of these strolls, which reminded him of his childhood. For a brief time his family had lived at Charleston, South Carolina, and he recalled dimly an early excursion to New England where he had first received a vision of white birches.

Surely the auguries justified Emerson's hopes for his friend's American career.

Then with startling suddenness Clough sailed for England. A letter from Emerson had brought him to Concord; a letter from Carlyle fetched him back to London. Carlyle might seem

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to have forgotten all about his young men; his face may have been turned from them. Yet from the corner of his eye he still watched those few whom he held dear. Clough he valued more than any of the youths he had learned to know since the death of John Sterling. Clough was another Sterling to him, and also to Emerson. The Scotsman honored his young friend for having relinquished a soft, compromising bed at Oxford to pick up a difficult living in London. He was endeared to Carlyle because, like Carlyle, he was ever on the watch for the elusive jewel, Truth, in the rubbish heap of the intellectual lumber of the day. So when an opportunity came to bring Clough back to London Carlyle grasped it. Lady Ashburton, the Scotsman's charming friend and admirer, had secured through her connections a post for the young scholar in the British Council Office, and though it was only a clerkship in the Education Department it promised a steady income of £300 a year in exchange for six hours of work a day.

Clough needed a morning and afternoon to make his decision. He could now marry with some assurance of security. He left so precipitously that many of his American friends were for some days unaware that he had gone.

For years Emerson could not recover from the grief of this astonishing desertion. That Clough should have fled without giving America half a trial was a lasting regret to him. He had felt so certain of his friend's permanence in America; so sure of his success! He would not kill the hope that Clough might yet come back, bringing with him his wife to establish his castle. He locked in a cupboard some articles of clothing which Arthur had failed to gather before his hasty departure. These should serve as hostages for his return. Emerson knew his friend had liked America, that Clough had enjoyed the greater freedom he had there found, and he believed that Arthur was more than unwilling to be re-Englished. How could he return so readily to the Old World, leaving behind the young, the hopeful, the humane Republic? A clerkship in the Education Office ought not to be the final reward England had to bestow on one

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of her most promising sons. The thought flitted through Emerson's mind that perhaps Britain harbored too many fine young men; their lives were stunted because places for them were made all too slowly. The weary note seemed to be creeping again into Arthur's not frequent letters. He was planning nothing. His non-competitive routine labor appeared to be lulling him into a mood of lethargic drifting. He wrote that the British ship was really so big one could not see that it moved. Ah, that was the pity of it, Emerson mused. Why should such a person as Clough be merely a stoker in the hold? Was he going to write nothing more; do nothing more? One anonymous poem had come out of England which many in America seized on as Clough's. But Emerson was not deceived, and it turned out, indeed, to be by Coventry Patmore.

But when a fledgling among American periodicals, the *Atlantic Monthly*, was established through the efforts of a little group of eager men, Clough promised to write for it. The *Atlantic Monthly* was worth the founding if only for that one result, Emerson felt. Eagerly he awaited his friend's words in the pages of the magazine. Clough's poem, *Amours de Voyage*, a narrative in the manner of the *Bothie*, was to appear in instalments beginning with the issue of February 1858. How good it was to find again the true, the brilliant, the sensitive Clough! Yes, this new poem was durable with the sincerity of British culture, yet subtle, delicate, and perceptive in its use of the right word and in its intricate shadowings of characterization. The new hero, Claude, bore much resemblance to Philip of the *Bothie* who in turn had suggested Clough, as Emerson had perceived, years ago, on reading the first poem. Only Claude seemed more indecisive than Philip; he looked with more puzzlement into the confusions of his own mind and was at a loss to choose his path. So had it been, however, with Philip, yet he had triumphantly found his way.

With each succeeding issue of the *Atlantic* Emerson read eagerly the fortunes of this new lover who manifested, in his love, the outward coolness and carelessness, the inward passion

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and earnestness, of a man from the frozen latitudes. With what keenness of understanding, what deftness of minute observation, Clough traced the ravelled threads of conflicting thought and feeling which hindered the lover from making a direct and bold attack on the heart of his mistress!

Hang this thinking, at last! What good is it? oh, and what evil!
Oh, what mischief and pain! like a clock in a sick man's chamber,
Ticking and ticking, and still through each covert of slumber pursuing.

As he read the instalment preceding the final one Emerson thrilled at the conquest of youth over infinite doubts. The Canto was glorious in its promise of an awakening which would carry the lover to the rewards of active life. The poetry soared to the mountain tops and triumph was in the rushing wind of its exaltations.

Bitter disappointment welled in Emerson's heart when he ended the final Canto. As he read, his eyes saw further than the printed page. He had a vision of the Arthur Hugh Clough that was Philip—Philip who succeeded, spurning an outworn country, a region bound about with the iron hoops of custom; Philip going instead to plough fresh soil in a new-born land. He saw also the Arthur who was Claude—the indecisive, questioning, non-participant, the victim of an extraordinary recoil, who stood irresolute between offered actions and then passed, defeated, through the portals of his own dissolution. How did the lines go? "I have slunk from the perilous field in whose wild struggle of forces the prizes of life are contested"? Why should that be? This was such a cruel surprise, such a bruising tumble from the peaks into the shadows of a broken dream in the valley below.

What was this Arthur Hugh Clough? Did Emerson really know him? What a maze of contradictions he had shown himself to be! So able, so conscientious, yet so unaccountably failing. Where had Arthur written the lines:

All at cross purpose ever with myself,
Unknowing whence, or whither?

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They were early in his career, were they not? Had Emerson, after all, been right in his first pained sympathies when he stood with Clough on the deck of the ship at Liverpool? Was he indeed a man whose brilliant intellect played the game of checks and balances with the impulses of his eager spirit, blocking its flight?

There is a tide, at least, in the *love* affairs of mortals,
. . . Leads to the marriage-morn and the orange flowers and the altar. . . .
Ah, it has ebbed with me! Ye gods, and when it was flowing,
Pitiful fool that I was, to stand fiddle-faddling in that way!

The poet who wrote thus had stood on shores of other seas, and watched other tides ebb away over the dreary sand flats.

Clough was always surprising and amazing his friend. Emerson was astonished when Clough died, in the forty-second year of his age. He had always seemed so robust! Was it not he who was the swimmer breasting the mountain torrents of the Highlands? How could he die so young? Emerson had brushed aside rumors of Arthur's failing health—they had seemed too preposterous, his friend too typical of the burly, long-lived British race. He had relied on Clough's life mainly, he supposed, because Clough's genius promised a large and long career.

Emerson surrendered before the astounding contradictions in his friend. There was no use trying to resolve them. If only he had lived longer these diverse qualities might have blended for accomplishment. But he was gone and could be written down only as a failure. His pitying friends could say, poor Clough, he accomplished nothing. Yet how tantalizing to remember that, a sympathetic spectator, he had followed the cause of liberty when Italy was the prey of all her invaders, and, as the Austrians stormed the walls of the city which the men of Brescia sought vainly to hold, had written the glorious "Peschiera" that expresses, perhaps better than any other poem in the language, the hope of victory amid the smoke of defeat.

The amazing aspiration, the amazing retreat: they were both

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present in the conclusion to Arthur's last completed poem, *Amours de Voyage*. Useless to reconcile them now.

Go, little book! thy tale, is it not evil and good?
Go, and if strangers revile, pass quietly by without answer.
Go, and if curious friends ask of thy rearing and age,
Say, "I am flitting about many years from brain unto brain of
Feeble and restless youths born to inglorious days:
But," so finish the word, "I was writ in a Roman chamber,
When from Janiculan heights thundered the cannon of France."

It was Emerson's custom to choose the better part. He read the *Bothie* again. How grievous that the good Clough, the generous and susceptible scholar, should die! The wine of youth was still in the poem.

FROM AN EDITION BY JOHN SKOT (C. 1530)
Courtesy of the New York Public Library

Everyman summoned by Death

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Mediaeval Drama Redivivus

HUGH ROSS
Conductor, Schola Cantorum, New York City

THE inquiring musician of today finds himself again and again confronted by the same insistent question. Where is one to look for a vital and progressive form of composition? The main line of development seems closed: contemporary operas and symphonies do not have any sure and lasting value, and many observers go so far as to say that the great days of Western art are over. Certainly the only creative artists of high remark are lone figures like Stravinsky or Picasso who seem to have scaled some faraway mountains of the imagination, only to bring back treasures of such refinement and complexity that few can appreciate their achievement.

Since this rarefied art can obviously do little to give expression to the ideas and feelings which are struggling in the world about us one is forced to look elsewhere. There have come to my attention from time to time various essays in folk music-drama, attempts to resurrect or recreate the old morality plays, efforts also to stage oratorios—no definite movement as yet but something that will bear investigation if only for the vital popular element that it contains in the shape of carols and folk dances and also for the tentative solution it affords to that vexing question of art's relation to society.

For there is no getting away from the fact that social theories are upsetting the normal practice of every branch of art: not that theorizing artists are a novelty, but that the emphasis on theory has entirely changed. Verdi for instance, when asked about some problem of musical construction answered simply, "Oh! I would write a little music!" and even that arch-theorist Wagner is remembered for his operas and not for his flatulent disquisitions about them. Schoenberg on the other hand is as famous for his atonalism as he is for his compositions, and the

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leader of the modern German school, Hindemith, has evolved a theory of *Gebrauchsmusik* which puts the composer on a level with the artisan. It is all symptomatic of the pervading social unrest which may be a good subject for novelists but is hard to fit into an abstract art like music. All the more interesting then to find a form which relieves the composer of this problem.

My own interest in the matter began quite accidentally. Several years ago I found myself one summer afternoon like many a globe-trotting tourist in the Domplatz at Salzburg awaiting a performance of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's version of the old morality play *Everyman*. I had a certain vague curiosity as to what could be made in practice out of those mediaeval relics which I had perused at some time and remembered chiefly for their rather naive humor or for the lovely lyrics which they contain. I knew of course that von Hofmannsthal had expanded the old drama considerably and it was evident from the preparations that we were to have music as well; but the bare stage boardings in front of the cathedral were not very promising, my knowledge of colloquial German was decidedly fragmentary, and there was the slightly uncomfortable prospect of attending some antiquarian exhumation merely because the Salzburg festival and its doings were the thing to see at the moment.

I was in for a surprise however. The brightly-clad heralds who came out to announce the play, the actors casually assembling from the surrounding streets, the trumpet-calls, the choir singing, the criers from the church steeples calling Everyman to his death made a thrilling exordium and tuned the faculties to the highest pitch of expectation. And there was no disappointment in the splendid acting which followed, enhanced as it was by the timely use of the resources on the spot—the devil springing up terrifyingly from between the feet of the spectators or the angel coming out of the cathedral to take Everyman away at the end of the play. I did not know it at the time but actually many of these devices were adapted from old customs in use in the magnificent imperial pageants of the Hapsburgs, and they served excellently to conjure up another world of dramatic ex-

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pression apparently quite alien to the nineteen-twenties and yet singularly satisfying in itself.

In retrospect however what stood out was the play and von Hofmannsthal's work on it. Reinhardt's contribution, as always when one gets to know his work better, dissolved into a clever but superficial combination of stage tricks, even a little tiresome for all their appositeness; and as for the music! The only thing I could say to myself was "What a magnificent opportunity wasted!" The accompanying interludes were put together by one Einar Nilson, Reinhardt's kapellmeister of the moment, and their utter inadequacy led me to write off the undertaking as valueless musically. Had they but used the music which Sibelius has composed for this subject what a different impression it might have made! As it was I discounted overmuch the really brilliant re-creation of von Hofmannsthal and it was many years before I looked into it thoroughly.

My next encounter with this type of music occurred in the West of Canada. I was looking over various scores for use in a Lenten play and was at once attracted by a slender, delicate work of Vaughan Williams entitled *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*. The subject is taken from the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan; the Delectable Mountains are Emmanuel's Land, the dwelling-place of three shepherds, "charged by their Lord to entertain pilgrims"; southward lies the region of the Celestial City, "full of horses and chariots," and in the solitary places "the country birds sing all the day long their melodious notes." Hereby passes a pilgrim on his way to Mount Zion. He takes his solace in the shade of the mountains, staying on the arrival of a Heavenly Messenger, who comes "to pierce his heart with the arrow of love" and take him away over into Eternity, while the shepherds follow him with their songs of succour and an angel choir welcomes him on the other side. The music is written in an unusual, fragmentary fashion; each character is followed by his allotted tune as if a set of strolling players walked on the stage, each one with a musician at his elbow to improvise him snatches of folk song in the modal manner; once and again these melodies

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cross and intertwine; very rarely they develop into a full symphony, foreshadowing the trumpeters and pipers of the Eternal City or brooding darkly together as the pilgrim fares downward into the deep waters of death.

But there are practical as well as poetical virtues in the work. A small company of actors and an equally small cohort of instruments fulfill the complete demands of the author; the bare background of cathedral columns, the simplest symbolic costumes, statuesque almost rigid postures of the actors are sufficient to liberate the understanding and imagination of the auditor. Not that this naturalistic acting is so easily come by. I have seen Celestial Messengers who poked their symbolic arrows into the victim's heart with a most unangelic forthrightness—but the main situations can hardly fail of their effect, especially when the pilgrim first views the mirage of the Holy City, or at his going cries across the far dark spaces to the shepherds speeding him on his way.

What a unique work this, in the musical output of the 20th century! In order to find any forbear one must go back more than 300 years to the *Rappresentazione dell' Anima e del Corpo* (The Story of the Body and the Soul) of Emilio de Cavalieri, produced in Rome in 1600. It is indeed remarkable how alike the two works are in many respects. The similarity of subject-matter is obvious and there is also the same cantilena in the vocal recitation, the long tenuto chords of the accompaniment in the background, the madrigalian ensembles marking the climactic situations. The older work even has a curious stage direction that the players should each one carry a musical instrument and pretend to accompany themselves—(I ask the reader to compare this with my impression of Vaughan Williams' music). Of course it is to be expected that Cavalieri has not the flexibility of modulation and accent possible to a latter-day composer and lacks altogether the symphonic interludes and commentaries which so enhance the modern work.

Equal, however, in importance to the achievement of Vaughan Williams in giving modern significance to a form so

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long disused is the value his work may be awarded in the musical history of the future. Has he merely created a musical sport somewhat akin to the 18th-century Shakespearean dramas of Beddoes? Quite apart from the actual existence of other isolated examples of the genre produced quite independently, and which I will presently describe among my more recent discoveries, the real matter here at issue concerns the history of opera as a whole. The term opera is merely a later name for the old music drama, and Cavalieri's work forms with that of one or two others the starting point in the growth of opera as we know it. Not solely by chance is it that composers and poets are going back to one of the sources of their art and attempting to jump off from that same starting point in quite a different direction. For the original lines of operatic development were given a special twist at the outset by the exceptional circumstances in which Cavalieri's work was produced. Cavalieri was a courtier and his music was written for a court audience, that is for a dilettante and snobbish audience, which *mirabile dictu* really thought that these early beginnings of opera were re-creations of Greek classical drama! Of course they were nothing of the sort. In the case of this particular opera-oratorio of Cavalieri the material was taken from the liturgical dramas of the Middle Ages (in Italy they were called *Sacre Rappresentazioni*) and a novel and for the times rather sophisticated music was written to them. By an accident of history these *Sacre Rappresentazioni* had been suppressed at about that time by papal ban. This happened also in France where the confraternities of the Passion were forbidden to perform sacred plays after 1548, though strangely enough they still maintained their monopoly of the theatre—the result however in the case of opera being that in two of the most civilized countries of the West, France and Italy, the materials of opera were forcibly ejected from the theatres of the people and opera became a court accomplishment. By the time it was again popularized, as in the Venetian opera houses established by Cavalli in the 17th century or in the Paris opera of Rameau, the whole subject-matter had been standardized around classical or historical subjects and its

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relation to the original popular religious dramas or popular comic characters (such as those of the Comedy of Masks) had been entirely lost. This accounts for certain anomalous characteristics which have always been evident in opera—the special artificiality of the stories on the one hand and on the other the tendency of opera to remain in most countries a metropolitan form of entertainment. In Germany and Italy the passion for music and especially for cantilena allows the inhabitants to stomach the most extraordinary concoctions—considered, that is, from the angle of dramatic or musical unity. But in the other countries of the West it is amazing how small a number of the population have the remotest idea what opera connotes, and yet there is nothing inherently difficult to understand in the combination of poetry, music and drama to illustrate a story or point a lesson. In other words opera is not by its nature undemocratic. It has become so largely by dint of circumstance: and the courtly entertainments with which it began have left behind not only a tradition of artificiality and a set of conventions not so easy to grasp the sense of, but also a mode of presentation which requires a truly colossal expenditure of money and of artistic energy. No wonder opera is often incomprehensible to the man in the street!

Now it is my contention that the turn of affairs might have been entirely different, that we need not have waited 300 years for the natural successor to Cavalieri's composition. For it is an extraordinary but undeniable fact that the avenue opened up by Cavalieri's experiment was hardly explored at all and that the subject which he chose is the only one entirely absent from the operas of history. An opera like *Parsifal* is only the exception that proves the rule; and no one could remotely connect the exotic, oriental, perfumed atmosphere of *Parsifal* with the out-of-door, urban, everyday spirit of the old morality plays. Not that I wish to imply that the subjects of serious opera (for it is that branch of the art which I am discussing) could have remained entirely within the categories of the mediæval stage. There are obviously far more possible themes for opera than those comprised under the headings of morality plays, miracles (concern-

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ing the saints) and mysteries (of the life of Christ). Opera presumably can be historical, legendary, farcical, topical, indeed as protean as you wish: all that I desire to emphasize is that to treat of any of these matters it does not need to be highly artificial, that it was simple in its beginnings, and that it might have remained so if it had not turned its back on the one type of drama previously established in popular favour.

For it goes without saying that sacred subjects still continued to be popular both in drama and in music, but they were almost never used in combined music-drama. Instead, historical accident produced on the one hand the sacred or sacramental drama of the Jesuits and the Spaniards and on the other the form of sacred music which goes under the name of oratorio. But unfortunately there was no music in Spain worthy to be associated with the magnificent Autos of Lope de Vega and Calderon; while oratorio gradually lost its original dramatic associations and became purely cantata, composed of solos and choruses that commented on the scriptural recitatives of an evangelist or historicus (a character introduced by Carissimi in imitation of the Deacons of the church, who used to chant the story in the mysteries).

The result also of leaving out the action was that the interest centered in the more highly developed musical sections, which were strung together rather artificially by the recitatives. The masterpieces of Bach and Handel in this genre are honoured entirely for their musical worth. In lesser cases the story ceased to count, the characters became merely the mouthpieces of the tenor, Signor X, or the soprano, Signora Y, and all dramatic unity was lost. Only in modern oratorios has a quite different and this time a symphonic unity been substituted.

That oratorio might have formed a natural link between the music drama of the 16th and 19th centuries has been demonstrated by some interesting experiments made by T. C. Fairbairn in the staging of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* in recent years. He did not however begin with oratorio—he found first a colorful vehicle for pageantry in *Hiawatha*, and having succeeded with this cantata tried his hand on the Bible story. It was a good

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choice since even in the music alone Elijah's contest with the priests of Baal is so dramatic that most concert baritones can hardly keep their singing of the rôle within the decent restraints of an evening dress performance by the local choral society. It is true that Fairbairn had some difficulty later in transporting Elijah's chariot to Heaven for his transfiguration, but luckily modern scene shifters are versatile people and the illusion might have been worse! Nevertheless the real material for sacred and philosophical music drama is not to be found in this hybrid art of oratorio. It must be taken direct from the old plays themselves or else come from modern treatments of such universal and eternal things as librettists and composers are capable of turning to their proper uses.

Fate has been kind to us in that the liturgical dramas lingered on long enough for copies to be made of all the more notable specimens. The whole movement had really reached its apogee in the 15th century; already at that date the various cycles had been subdivided into numerous plays and copies of them had been made. The first manuscript of the Coventry plays goes back to 1468 and the play of the life and death of St. Mary Magdalene was published by Caxton in 1483. Then republications were issued by various learned societies during the 19th century and since that time numerous editors have prepared versions not only for study but for presentation as well. Observers also began to make record of the plays which they unearthed in various quarters and which had not yet fallen into desuetude along with other extinct customs. One still hears of folk-plays of the nativity extant in Poland, and there is a famous mystery given every year at Elche in southern Spain; apparently it has rather taken on the aspect of a municipal advertising project! Felipe Pedrell, Spain's scholar musician, has edited some of the most beautiful numbers of its quite elaborate music and they have been heard as far away as New York's concert halls. In his preface to Chope's carols the English writer, Baring-Gould, describes the procession of the *Springende Heiligen* at Echternach in Luxembourg in the sixties; and an even more unusual celebration in the

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Erz mountains which featured a very special devil called Knecht Rupprecht with a cow's horn and a whip and a fox's tail hanging from his waist. There were also songs of greeting to the sun and the moon and the stars and the magistrates in the name of the German herbs—which all sounds as if it might be very useful to Dr. Alfred Rosenberg and his new German Christianity, especially a further song to the constellation of Charles' Wain, apparently the soul-car of German pagan mythology.

From the American point of view a most striking sample of this long-lived folk-art is the Mexican play *Los Pastores* which was given in San Antonio, Texas up till 1900 and was rescued from oblivion just in time by the Boston Folk Society. It must be one of the most elaborate and extended nativity plays on record. The proper stage trappings are provided, mechanical stars and the like, and all the extra characters which popular fancy has added to the Bible story are there—such as the comic hermit who precedes the shepherds, and the lazy shepherd who has to be carried to the manger (his name is Bartolo—shades of Rossini!). There are in addition charming touches such as the string of lights which are supposed to show Christ the way to the manger so that he shall be born in the right place! As usual, also, the devil is a very important personage—devils are always favored. I have already referred to Knecht Rupprecht. In the play of St. George and The Turk there appears a delicious smart-aleck devil who announces himself as follows:

> Here come I, Beelzebub,
> Under my arm I carry a club,
> Under my chin I carry a pan,
> Don't I look a nice young man?

The devils always provided the comic relief, and that is one reason that they bulk so large in the picture. In the play *Los Pastores* the devil is Lucifer, and he has three attendant imps, Satan, Sin, and Leviathan, of whom Satan has a special tail of firecrackers which is set alight when he is expelled from the earth at the end of the play.

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Although the performances of *Los Pastores* seen in San Antonio were by all accounts incredibly crude they were genuine in feeling, as is proved by the superstitions which went along with them—they had to be given in a house surrounded by ashes, sprinkled on the ground to keep away evil spirits! The worst of these rustic survivals however is that they are more curious than useful; it is not easy to present them because their verisimilitude is mixed up with incredible naïvetés; and the music that goes with them is so badly recorded that one cannot be sure whether the tunes and the words really belong together. Their chief value is bound to be antiquarian, although by their sincerity, their humour, their poetry they may aid us to recover a sense of direction and of values; and the texts may serve in part as libretti for new composers. But as they stand they give us little or nothing musically, and their modern editors do no better.

Donald Fay Robinson (the editor of the *Harvard Dramatic Club Miracle Plays*), whose work is admirable on the dramatic side, suggests the chanting of the famous canticles (the Magnificat etc.) and of appropriate carols, both for an enhancement of the performance and for historical reasons; but this is very meager when we consider that the *Beuediktbeuren* play which he reprints had a continuous musical notation; that another play had a priest's part sung throughout by boys; and that there is testimony that many of the liturgical dramas were completely set to music. But the fault in this instance can hardly be laid at Robinson's door. However developed the music may have been in the days when the mediæval dramas were publicly performed, and we know that it was from the reaction in Chester when the actors decided to leave out the carols and the townspeople nearly killed them for it, everyone agrees that music is notoriously difficult to get down in black and white from the direct oral rendition—and in mediæval times there was absolutely no technique whatever for doing so.

The strangest part of the business is that in most instances the music long outlasted the drama. It began to appear in the Broadsides, as they were dubbed—rough sheets of words and

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music published in London some hundred or more years ago—and doubtless the major portion of the carols and folk-tunes was taken down orally by collectors during the last fifty years. That the music survived long enough to be culled by modern research is a great tribute to its value and its appeal, but it also shows its simplicity. A religious drama like *Parsifal* would not have lasted long in such conditions.

That is one major reason why it seems to me that the mediæval drama *redivivus* may be the raw material for a new type of music-drama—the very fact that it has never before had an adequate music written to go with it and to bring out its deeper meaning. Already two composers have seen this and taken advantage of their opportunity—Rutland Boughton with the nativity play, *Bethlehem*, a setting of parts of the famous Coventry cycle, and Malipiero with an oratorio, *La Cena*, taken from a *Rappresentazione della Cena e Passione* written by Pierozzo Castellano de Castellani in the 16th century.

In both cases the men as well as their works are worthy of consideration. Boughton, like too many English composers, suffers from eccentricities which brand him the eternal amateur. In his attempts to mix music with Marxism he is a typical man of his time; with his beliefs in free love and nudism he was equally at home in the vanguard of twenty years gone; and yet he has remained throughout his life true to that unsoiled, otherworldly strain that graces so many children of the Celtic race. Thence comes his melodic gift, thence too a vision that gave life to the legendary figures of his one successful opera, *The Immortal Hour*, and that gives him more than a poet's understanding of the simple faith of those unknown Coventry playwrights. One feels that for him the stars of the morning really dance and sing, and the informing spirit of his work shines out of the beautiful dedication "to my children and to all children." But these sweet old-world carols, this music rippling on like an unending Celtic folksong is, to say the least, a strange burgeoning for an intellect steeped in faded socialist philosophy. It is rather pleasant to speculate whether the ancient story has not once again

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Jeronimo di Sancti et Cornelio suo compagno, Venice 1487
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From the "Devote meditazione sopra la passione del nostro Signore"

Prince d'Essling places this and the others of the series (as woodblock illustrations) before 1450. See his article "*Le premier livre xylographique Italien imprimé à Venise vers 1450.*"

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showed its power as an anodyne to the distempered mind, though it may be more up to date and alas! more accurate to diagnose a complete scission between the untrammelled melodic faculty that spawns the carols and the bound and fettered brain that hews strictly to the party line.

The Italian composer Malipiero belongs to a totally different type, and his work also requires quite a different appraisal: indeed, had I followed any order of merit in exposing my ideas on this subject his contribution would of necessity have taken first place. He has not only set the *Cena e Passione* of de Castellani to music. He has composed a complete *Mistero* on certain incidents in the life of St. Francis, and he is moreover the modern editor of the opera of Cavalieri which seems to me so vital to this discussion.

Not only by his scholastic activities as editor is Malipiero exceptionally fitted to put new life into forgotten moulds. As composer he has always evinced an attitude startlingly true to the life and feeling of our times. He is probably best known by his orchestral suite, the *Pause del Silenzio*, and I cannot do better than to quote his own preface to that work as illustration of his special standpoint. "These short pieces," he says, "date back to the time of the war—a time when it seemed well-nigh impossible to retire to the realm of silence; and when he who had found it was prone to shrink from breaking silence even through music." He goes on to describe the seven symphonic impressions, one a pastorale, another a serenade, a third an elegy, and names his motto or leading theme "heroic," "for a more timid voice would not have dared to break the silence."

Here at once we glimpse Malipiero's sense of the fantastic, without which to my way of thinking no man can hope to interpret his age, and particularly the age in which we live—one so befogged by clouds of statistical estimations that it is a wonder anyone can find his way about any more. But Malipiero has always seen under the surface, and instead of writing pure symphonies, better suited to the denizens of a more ordered society, he has tried to capture in sound the more sketchy and fleeting

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yet veracious intuitions of a world in flux. Like a modern Berlioz he writes a pictorial music, but without the extravaganza which caused Berlioz on occasion to throw historical truth to the winds and transplant his hero Faust to the plains of Hungary merely for the pleasure, as he himself confesses, of introducing his brilliant fantasy on the Hungarian Rakoczy March. Malipiero's pictures are less concrete than those of Berlioz, but he has the same power to sum up a situation in musical terms; and his equal insight into the past and the present gives his delineations a quality that transcends the immediate here and now. It is instructive to compare in this respect the best of his Fantasies, the *Torneo Notturno* (in old days it would have been styled a morality), with a recent play acclaimed profusely for its sensational handling of these universal themes. I refer to Sean O'Casey's *Within the Gates*. Despite his poetry and his vivid realism it struck me forcibly that O'Casey failed to solve the problem he had set himself, chiefly because he entirely forgot to distinguish between the necessary limitations of a type and of an individual, and by muddling up the characteristics of both in the same person made nonsense of the people in his play.

Malipiero on the other hand not only keeps his characters strictly to type but even manages to employ devices that are equivalent to the ancient *deus ex machina* to enhance (as they must) the inevitable dénouement. Suddenly and unexpectedly at the end of the *Torneo* the Desperado who has fruitlessly pursued his enemy, the Insouciant, through varying encounters turns the tables upon him and his other foes and regains his freedom, only to succumb logically to the untamable forces within himself.

In truth Malipiero with his versatility, his profundity, his inventiveness is worth a whole treatise to himself. I wish I could do more than indicate the beauties of *La Cena*, the universalizing of Christ's words in the mouths of a chorus, the tortuous serpentine music of Judas, the touching simplicity of the farewell to the disciples. But I think I have said enough to indicate Malipiero's competence in this field and also to bring out his close

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connection with the whole resurgence of mediæval forms and ideas in our time.

In conclusion, it seems to me that there is no balking the social problem: it has invaded our whole lives and *a fortiori* our æsthetic consciousness, and I could cite a thousand and one dramatic and musical happenings to buttress my contention that men are looking for a way out or for a diversion by referring back to mediæval productions written "in honour of God and to instruct poor people." Hugo von Hofmannsthal redraws the outlines of Calderon's characters to accord with the modern conflict, the Bolsheviki resurrect Lope de Vega for his usefulness as a social propagandist, my chosen composers are busying themselves in no mean manner with their several solutions of the matter. To those whose interest in the question is of a more general nature I would say that the father-philosopher of the whole movement is T. S. Eliot whose latest contribution, *Murder in the Cathedral*, surely cries aloud for a musical setting! Eliot's long search for significant form is an epitome of our general struggle; it has brought him finally through that horrible chaos voiced in his "Dialogue on Poetic Drama" (certainly only a great and sincere writer could get away with such an effusion!) to the belief that the "cadences of the Bible and the ritual of the church furnish the essential stimulation for poetic drama" (F. O. Matthiessen).

If, then, this incipient movement exists and has already attracted the attention of some of our best minds, surely it is worth our regard, at least in order that we may decide whether we prefer the acid, satirical, realistic music-drama of Shostakovitch (see his opera *Lady Macbeth of Mzensk*), the flamboyant youth-worship of Sean O'Casey's

> "Way for the strong and the swift and the fearless,"

or Eliot's fuller acceptance of all that is sent to captivate and to wound "our thoughts and visions":

> These things that have to come to us and we to accept them
> This our share of the eternal burden,
> The perpetual glory.

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The Genius of Horace

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THIS short paper is addressed to all who love true poetry. A large company indeed; for poetry, like music, plays a significant part in millions of lives. This it does by giving us living pictures of the endlessly varied aspects of human action, thought, feeling and imagination. And in the small company of our finest poets Horace has long held and still holds his place of high eminence.

His life at the start gave little promise of his coming career and fame. He was born on December 8th two thousand years ago of humble parentage in the obscure village of Venusia, right on the ankle bone of the long geographical leg we call Italy, in an arid desolate region. Here his early boyhood years were passed under the care of his father, a freedman only one stage above the servile class and owner of a little farm. At some time he was a publican, an auctioneer, and perhaps keeper of a small store. He had the old Roman virtues of integrity, thrift and hard-headed common sense, together with a deep watchful affection for his son. With grateful recollection the poems of Horace tell us much about him. Of the poet's mother we know absolutely nothing. She is not mentioned in his writings nor anywhere else. To that school of historians who accept nothing as a historic fact without reliable historic evidence it may be clear that we cannot prove Horace had a mother. None the less we may be sure that he had, and perhaps we may conjecture that his mother died at his birth or in his early childhood.

Of his early life in Venusia we know little. His father took him to Rome for his schooling, where one of his teachers was Orbilius, whom he styles *plagosus*, "the flogger." His father stayed with him and took walks with him about the city, noting the sights and pointing out the prominent men, commending one or denouncing another. Of one such Horace himself wrote: "*Hic*

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niger est; hunc tu Romane caueto." "He is a black man. Roman, beware of him!" It sounds like his father's voice. Under such care and advice Horace was guided through his early youth, and his father summed it all in his words: "I am content, if while you need a guardian I am able to keep your life and name from harm."

At nineteen or twenty Horace went to Athens, the fountainhead of culture, and there plunged into the Greek philosophers and poets. Two years later, and all too soon, Brutus arrived in Athens with the startling news that Julius Caesar was assassinated. Horace dropped his books, eagerly joined the army of Brutus, and was present at his defeat by the future Emperor Augustus in the battle of Philippi where the days of the Roman republic so tragically ended.

Somehow he made his way back to Rome. He was now twenty-three. His father was dead and he was destitute. He managed to get a clerkship and used his spare time in writing verses, not unlike young Walter Scott in later times, awhile clerk to a court in Edinburgh, whose minutes were poorly kept, maybe because they contained many verses, such as the opening lines of "The Lady of the Lake."

Soon Horace met Virgil, five years older than he and long to be his dearest friend, *animae dimidium meae*, "the half of my soul." Through Virgil he met Maecenas, who was to be first Prime Minister of the Roman Empire and was also to be his generous friend and patron. It was one step from Maecenas to the acquaintance and friendship of Augustus. Horace's troubles were over. Maecenas gave him the Sabine farm where he spent his happiest years, with occasional visits to Rome. Though invited by Augustus to become his secretary, Horace modestly but definitely declined the honor. Nevertheless the friendship of Augustus continued to the end. In the last year of Horace's life Maecenas died, leaving this farewell message to Augustus: "*Horati Flacci, ut mei, memor esto.*" "Remember Horace as you would remember me." A few weeks later Horace died, almost fifty-seven years old, on November 27th, 8 B.C., and was

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buried in Rome near the tomb of Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill. And the lowly country boy from the little village had become one of the two most famous poets Rome ever gave to the world, the other one being his dearest friend.

Why was it that he won his wonderful and enduring fame? Certainly not because of any distinguished antecedents or early advantages. It was because of something within him, the rare gift of poetic genius. All the favor of Maecenas and Augustus and all the quiet of the Sabine farm could not create this. But they could and did give it the chance to reveal itself. As soon as that chance came gleams of his inborn genius began to appear, at first less perfectly and even faultily, yet all the while leading toward higher and at times faultless perfection. This progress of his poetry occurs in three stages: first his Epodes and Satires, second his Odes, and third his Epistles, including his Art of Poetry. There is also a stray Ode, the famous *Carmen Saeculare*, and a belated fourth book of Odes. His work took over twenty and perhaps even thirty years to finish, and the whole of it makes a small book somewhat less in bulk than the contents of a detective story. With only this in his hand he has walked on to literary immortality.

His Epodes are lyrical refrains and his Satires are talks. The Epodes on various themes bear the marks of the disturbed times. The horrors of the Civil War were recent and dreadful. On the whole the Epodes are his least finished work. Yet here and there we meet passages of great beauty, notably in his picture of the golden age in the isles of the western ocean. The two books of Satires are conversations in easy everyday style, dealing mainly with the foibles and follies of mankind in a tone not savage but genial. *Atqui licet esse beatis.* "And yet they might be happy," he regretfully observes. In them we see Rome as he saw it with his own eyes, its highways and byways, the goings and comings and doings of men in their daily life. He notes their behavior; the greedy miser, the tedious bore, the rich upstart, the dinner party, the unwisdom of avarice and ambition; and also has some purely literary themes. His sixth Satire contains an exquisite

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tribute to his father. There may also be noted here and there a strain of deeper seriousness showing his real concern that men should not give themselves to folly. It is a touch of the old Roman spirit his father had instilled in him.

Thus far he had been feeling his way. Then he entered on the second stage and after seven or eight years of effort published in his forty-second year the first three books of his Odes. After painstaking labor in the peace of his Sabine farm, writing and rewriting, polishing and finishing, he had marched a long way toward perfection. Some of the Odes are not much more than ordinary, many are much finer, and in the finest we find that perfect utterance which we must recognize as impossible to improve. In these we find his keen insight, bright geniality, balanced judgment, studious grace (his *curiosa felicitas*), pictorial power, rare humor, melodious phrasing and mellow glow, all blended in one impression of deep delight. For he was truly, as he wrote, *solibus aptum*, "made for sunshine." Again and again we meet little phrases that are unforgettable,

> Jewels five words long
> Which on the stretched forefinger of all time
> Sparkle forever.

It is perhaps no accident that one of his Odes, *Integer vitae*, has become the most famous student song of the modern world.

In diction, the choice of the perfect word, and in style, the perfect placing of words, we have here a master artist. Yet it is not diction and style alone which tell the story. The Odes are full of beautiful scenes and most picturesque touches. They also finely depict human virtues, weaknesses and aspirations. We see our own life in its lighter and deeper shades. Here too we find delightful portraits of his imaginary ladyloves; fickle Pyrrha, timid Chloe, laughing Lalage, and one unnamed whom he calls *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior*, "O daughter fairer than thy mother fair"—apparently a real person. Here we find poems to Maecenas, Virgil and Augustus, the praise of wine and friendship, the lovely scenery of Italy; the crystal spring, the Ship of

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State, the deep sadness of death, and much more. At times he rises to real grandeur in denouncing social degeneracy and patriotically summoning to new life the rugged virtues which had made Rome great. His inmost view of a contented life is seen in his superb Ode presumably recited at the dedication of the Temple of Apollo. Nearly eight years in building, it was one of the most magnificent structures erected in Rome in the reign of Augustus, and was enriched by the addition of two libraries of Greek and Latin authors and by their sculptured portraits. There amid the stately splendors of Rome he asks for himself no wealth or power, no flocks and fields, no gold and ivory, but simple fare, contentment, health, a sound mind, a happy old age, and his lyre. It may sound a bit flat in English. In the original it is rich music. Some believe that on the Odes the fame of Horace mainly rests. They are one of his chief claims to fame, but not the only chief claim, and they are indeed secure so long as men care to consider the phases and meaning of their lives.

The third stage is revealed in the Epistles. Also on the side we have a fourth book of Odes, published at the desire of Augustus, and usually not up to the high level of the earlier Odes. The Epistles are in the same metre as the Satires, and like the Satires they are conversations—but at a distance. Bentley put the matter well in his remark: "*Sermonibus cum praesentibus, epistulis cum absentibus loquimur*," "In talks we speak with those present, in letters with those absent." Yet there is still a greater difference here. For the Epistles reveal Horace in his fullest and deepest power. The wit and spirit of the Satires are now transformed into something yet finer. The glowing beauty of the Odes enters into this enrichment. He has become wiser with his years and in his work. Here is his finally attained standard of life:

Natalis grate numeras? ignoscis amicis?
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?

"Do you count your birthdays gladly? And forgive your friends? And grow gentler and better as old age draws near?"

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No matter what his theme, literary, personal, social, rural, moral or philosophical, this spirit guides his pen. He has won his way to his highest level and dwells there. May we do as well! At the least we may echo the opinion of Mommsen that the Epistles of the second book are "the most charming in all Latin literature." The Odes and Epistles constitute the main claim of Horace to immortality; but not the total claim, for that rests on his total achievement.

Such in brief outline is the place and meaning of his poetry. It has faults, and one bad blot in a coarse early Satire. But why read this? Let it go. He tells with gratitude how his father had trained him to clean living. And in his love poems there is not a trace of sensuality. The progress of his life and work shows that he had left all such folly far behind and that he was not only much better than the age in which he lived but that he had risen to true nobility in his life as well as in his thought.

He foresaw and predicted his literary immortality. To us this may seem immodest. It should be remembered, however, that modesty, real or assumed, is a comparatively modern thing. It should also be remembered that Romans were in the habit of writing their own lives to tell of their achievements and that Tacitus says this was not to their reproach. It was thus they happened to invent autobiography. They thought it only right to justify themselves in this way. In the final Ode of his third book Horace makes his astounding prediction. It is too fine to allow adequate translation. Yet here is a version of part of it: "I have reared a monument more enduring than bronze and loftier than the station of the royal pyramids. This no corroding rain nor impotent blast shall be able to destroy, nor even the endless succession of years, nor the flight of time." Very bold words, but nevertheless true thus far. Even more daring to Roman ears must have sounded the succeeding words: "I shall be famed so long as the high priest with the silent vestal virgin ascends the Capitoline Hill." This ceremony, most sacred in Roman religion and suggesting the eternity of Rome, ceased in the sixth century of our era. We think of the poet Coleridge's comment,

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scribbled on his copy of Horace: "Little did Horace think how long the boast was to outlive the rite." His poetry has long outlived the old Roman religion and the Roman Empire of which he saw the beginning. Perhaps it may outlast the Pyramids too.

He lived in an age before the new light of Christian hope began to dawn on the world. The light he had was all he had to guide him. That light he followed, haltingly at first and yet with ever-increasing purpose. In that light, unaided even by such hope as had helped Plato and Cicero, his genius glowed and wrought for us bright and truthful pictures of what men naturally are and what they should be. He who knows his Horace has gone a long way toward understanding himself and his fellow men.

Now just a word in regard to translating Horace. Can he be translated? Yes—imperfectly, but quite well enough to catch his meaning and spirit. A perfect translation seems almost impossible. Perhaps the best in all our literature is Ben Jonson's "Drink to me only with thine eyes," his version of an old Greek song. In translating poems of graceful style and intimate vision it is the charm of the original, the glow, the bloom, that is almost inevitably lost. Most versions, even fairly good ones, are, as Mommsen observed, "dim copies of bright originals." Great masters of English have tried to translate one or another poem of Horace, notably Milton and Dryden. Yet even they, great poets as they are, come short of perfection here. Milton's version of the Ode on fickle Pyrrha almost turns her into a Puritan maiden, "plain in thy neatness," as he put it. Dryden's attempt is far better, but amounts to a noble paraphrase rather than a fine version. Yet let not the young student of Horace be discouraged. Horace is not easy to translate, at least to translate well. Yet try it and you will gain much. If you get but little at first, still it is a little of the best. As soon as you begin to detect the tiny clusters of three or four words which Horace employs so freely, the going will be surer and faster. Do the best you can by yourself and in case of real need, and not otherwise, use some existing version to supplement but not to replace your own efforts. You will catch much

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of the meaning and spirit of the poem, will find satisfaction and enjoyment, will steadily improve your use of English, will learn much about yourself, and will have gained a rich treasure well worth keeping all your life. If in later years your remembrance of Horace becomes dim and slight, as is so often the case with our memories of other studies, the important fact remains that you once read some of his poetry and were made a better man by doing so. At the least you will be able to say with a writer of the present day:

> Much lost I. Something stayed behind,
> Some catch, maybe, of classic song,
> Some breathing of a deathless mind,
> Some love of truth, some hate of wrong.

Bronze medallion, probably of the 4th century

Mexico by Sight and Insight

MAY MARSH

THE traveler motoring comfortably along the new highway from the United States to Mexico might well give a thought to that young Spaniard who reached Mexico by sailboat before the Pilgrim Fathers made Plymouth Rock the doorstep of New England or Pocahontas rescued the valiant English captain in the wilds of Virginia.

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Four hundred years ago "stout Cortés" landed his 600 daredevils at Vera Cruz, and burning his ships behind him marched, undaunted, 150 miles through difficult mountain passes where in a few short minutes some well-directed boulders could have exterminated the hope and the life of his entire expedition, up to Mexico City, the capital of an empire of several million people, many of them not ignorant savages but a people who had been making mathematical calculations and keeping astronomical records for probably two thousand years, building huge cities with palaces and pyramids, founding systems of architecture and religion, developing institutions of law and justice. In Mexico City Cortés established himself and his men as unwanted guests, achieving his subsequent conquest by successfully backing a dissatisfied minority of the Mexican empire, a minority which swept him into power at the head of a native insurrection. But this could never have been accomplished without the aid of the clever Indian princess who, flattered at being the mistress of so godlike a warrior, placed her skill as a linguist and her knowledge of political intrigues at his command and won for him the final victory over her own people, earning for herself thereby the enduring hatred of the Indian nation which has given her name to that conspicuously treacherous volcano, Malinche, "the wicked woman."

Thus started that conflict between two cultures which has ever since been waging without truce. The Mexico of today is a battlefield whereon Indian and Spaniard still struggle for dominance—in the physiognomy of their offspring, the type of food to be eaten and clothes to be worn, the language to be spoken, and the art and religion to be practiced. Fifty years after the conquest there were 160,000 Spaniards in Mexico, mostly men, who had begun the process of mingling races by establishing more or less permanent homes with the native girls who mothered and trained the children according to Indian customs. A conquered nation, Mexico still retains the social frictions arising when conqueror and conquered live side by side, two inflexible old cultures. If the stranger allows the University of Mexico

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to act as his guide during a summer session especially arranged for foreign students, the spectacle confronting the traveler south of the Río Grande becomes more significant, for really to see the Mexico of today one needs to recall the Mexico of many yesterdays; to sense the country through its literature, art, and folkways; to study a sociological profile of modern Mexico plotted against an historical and ethnological background.

Spanish colonization was begun during the period of religious fanaticism characterizing the Spanish Inquisition. Dissension over specimens of New World inhabitants brought to Spain as curiosities by the explorers involved the Church in a bitter controversy strangely shaping the entire colonial policy of the nation. If these creatures so like men in appearance were in truth animals they might be appropriated like a herd of bison; if they were human beings they possessed souls to be saved. An august body of long-robed dignitaries, assembled in solemn conclave, ultimately decided that these inhabitants of the New World were not mere animals since they could laugh and had no tails. They must therefore be human and being human they must have souls and having souls they must be brought into the Christian fold to increase the glory of Our Lord on earth and swell the number of His Hosts in Heaven. Thus was the policy of the Spanish conquest determined, making its distinctive characteristic its army of cloaked missionaries rather than its battalions of soldiery. Along with fortresses, mission schools and churches were constructed at strategic points from which radiated trade routes and foraging expeditions as well as cultural influences. Nowhere in history has the missionary had wider opportunity for power and authority, and within a year or two after the conquest these zealous teachers had a thousand Indian boys and several hundred Indian girls attending school in Mexico City.

Every ship brought men whose lives were devoted to study and who had come to America to continue their scholarly pursuits. To these men of the monasteries with their long heritage of culture the New World offered a challenging field for fruitful research. Eagerly in this land of many tongues they seized the

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unique opportunity for studying and classifying the spoken languages of the natives and reducing them to a phonetic system. When the demand for higher education had become realized in the establishment of the university in Mexico City—a university antedating many of the colleges of Oxford and a thriving institution when Harvard was still in swaddling clothes—it included a chair of comparative linguistics dealing with the 150 Indian tongues, which had been equipped with grammars and glossaries prepared and printed on this side of the Atlantic.

It was religion the pious fathers had come to teach but a general education became a means to that end, and the enthusiasm for learning and the arts was fanned to such a flame that at the end of a single generation there were 300 contestants competing for a single prize in the writing of literature. The elaborate churches the fathers wanted to build necessitated training many natives in European crafts. Consequently there early arose a school of fine arts inspired by the great paintings imported from Europe to adorn the churches. Clever beyond most peoples' are the hands of the Mexicans, and they had soon mastered the Spanish techniques of tooling leather and silver, carving wood and marble, and producing gorgeous tiles for use in the churches and monasteries or in the homes of the wealthy. Their own distinctly native arts were meanwhile influenced by the presence of the Conquistadores. Long before the arrival of the Spaniards there had come from the villages of Olinila and Uruapán lovely gourds decorated with exquisitely embossed enamel made from the oil of an insect colored with powdered earths and dusted on with a deer's-tail brush, polished with flint, and finally engraved with the thorn of a cactus. Soon these masters of lacquer were applying their decorations to wooden trays for use in the mass, to wooden chests for storing vestments in the churches, and to shallow gourds suitable for washbasins in the monasteries. And the integration of the two cultures went a step further when the Indians began copying foreign motifs from imported Chinese prints and German embroidery books, and from the doors of some greedy grabber's money safe.

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In all its externals Mexican religion may be called Christian, but it is in truth a duco-finish of Christianity upon an essentially Indian cosmology. A man is christened, married, and buried by the church if he can afford that luxury, but since the marriage fee could buy a house for a peasant bride he may forgo a Christian wedding and revert to the tribal ceremony prevailing among his own people. Every household, every village, and every political precinct, however, has a Christian altar for its private saint, and like the old Hebrew gods these santos share men's pleasures and take part in their quarrels. In Huixquilucán there is a bitter and boastful rivalry between two adjoining neighborhoods whose saints are dragged into the bawdy quarrels. "Our Virgin is more powerful than your Saint Martin" boast the men of one group. "But she is not so pure, perhaps, and holy as you think," retort the others with a knowing wink, "for she makes nightly trysts in the woods with our San Martin."

The Mexican's life, so often uprooted by famine and pestilence, by erupting volcanoes and devastating floods, leaves him painfully aware of that portion of the universe where human devices are powerless and human efforts are of small avail, and his religious observances tend to become magic formulae for influencing the universe. Belief is pushed to its logical practical conclusion. "God bless our little children" pray we. "God bless our little pigs" prays he, and on the day when the *santa* concerns herself with men's trivial affairs he may be met driving his flock of geese and herd of little pigs to church for a blessing, each wearing a tiny hat cocked over one ear. When a saint has become conspicuous for her miracles of healing one may buy on the street near her church tiny "milagros" or "ex votos" of metal, focal targets for the prayers of the sufferer and the benediction of the saint. One may buy an image of a leg or an arm, an eye or an ear, and pray to have a sprain or a black eye cured, and if one's burro has a broken leg one may even find a saint who will condescend to aid recovery, provided a miracle of the proper sort has been bought and a prayer of the right design has been offered. In most villages there is some native

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with magic power to cure a cow or harm an enemy or even to recover the waning affection of a sweetheart by an incantation performed secretly under a coverlet of flowers at the hour of midnight—for a generous fee. People flock frankly to the "famous witches." But curiously, as evidenced by the dodgers distributed at the market places, the fashion in witches has changed from toothless old hags with broomstick and cat to comely young women with autos and chauffeurs.

The Mexican Indian has a flare for acting, and the importance of drama in his life humbles by comparison our own little-theater pastime. With drama a part of his life, entire villages unite in reproducing religious and historical events. The little town of El Penon supplies several hundred people for the armies which reenact the battle in which the Mexicans defeated the French supporters of Emperor Maximilian. Being a poor man the Mexican peasant who underwrites the cost of the performance and takes the rôle of the leading general sold his cattle to buy the officers' uniforms and provide some of the entertainment. Christmas, Hallowe'en, and birthdays have special songs and ceremonies that are widely observed, but in scores of villages Holy Week is the great dramatic event of the year. In these towns the entire population day after day enacts the closing events in the life of the Jew of Palestine, in the costumes and accents of his Indian adherents in Mexico. A Yaqui Indian who had taken part in many such pageants told us of the time when a terrific cloudburst suddenly drove everyone for shelter, leaving "Jesus" deserted on the cross. He called for help, he pleaded for help, and when none came he loosed such a torrent of curses and invective as would have befitted the devil himself. At the recollection of this blaspheming "Jesus" the Indian narrator bent double with laughter. The spirit of the old miracle plays lingers on in many of the Indian presentations as it does in parts of the Tyrol where Judas is the clown. At the church of El Carmen we witnessed a votive production of the battle of St. James and the Moors in which the Saint rode a wooden sawhorse during his duel with the Moorish chief. But this being

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clumsy it was promptly abandoned after the fight and became the property of the clown who used it to capture many a laugh during the most solemn parts of the play. He finally capped the climax by gathering all attention to himself and mournfully dragging his burden as a burlesque of Jesus staggering under his cross.

The Mexican peasant looks out on the world through shuttered eyes. It is as though Venetian blinds prevented our looking back into his soul. By stolid endurance he accomplishes the impossible. His landscape is polka-dotted with lovely churches whose golden domes and tiled façades nestle in peaceful valleys or stand boldly on the brow of inaccessible cliffs many miles from any visible habitations. They were built for the glory of the saint, not for the use of mankind. With the same reverent plodding patience he shrouded his pyramids of the Sun and of the Moon under a blanket of earth that for years was farmed like all the surrounding hills. It is believed that when Cortés destroyed the great pyramid of the capital, casting it like rubbish into the canals, the natives in other regions took fright and covered their altars with basket after basket of earth till they had hidden these stupendous structures so successfully they lost them themselves. Centuries elapsed before they were rediscovered by a puzzled farmer whose wooden plow struck an old staircase later unearthed by the archeologists.

In passing the boundary of the Río Grande one passes frontiers of race and religion, of husbandry and hope. Mexico is not a mimicry of Uncle Sam, with the same ambitions and practices, the same desires and fulfilments. It is an Indian nation, sprinkled with European culture only partially assimilated, a people whose creation of beautiful things entitles them to a place in the sun beside their efficient neighbors who can stoke a steam engine and design a dynamo.

Articles from other authors who will discuss the religious, racial, and similar important elements in Mexican life are planned for later issues.

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Schoolmarm English

JOHN J. DE BOER
Assistant Editor, The English Journal

A CURIOUS but significant paradox in American life today is the dominance of a classical and aristocratic tradition in our otherwise democratic public school system. This paradox manifests itself tragically in the general effort to herd the children of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie indiscriminately into classes in formal mathematics, Latin, ancient history, and other branches of the classical formal learning far removed from the compelling interests and needs of the rank and file. It appears more subtly in such vital subjects of a democratic curriculum as the social sciences and the study of the mother tongue.

Though the influence of the aristocratic tradition is more dangerous in the social sciences than in the teaching of English, we find in the latter more concrete evidence of the obtuse and wilful conservatism that makes the schools a ready victim of the predatory groups desiring the maintenance of the *status quo*. The lowly schoolmarm is hardly to be blamed for a condition which the "scholars" and the publishers of school textbooks have largely brought about. These have set standards of usage which recent studies have shown to be contrary not only to the actual standards of speech and writing in English-speaking countries but to the practises of the best English writers from Shakespeare to the present. For the most part these academic lawgivers have permitted the so-called "logic" of etymology and of classical inflection and syntax to displace the facts of the living, changing language as the basis of instruction in language. To them an Americanism is akin to a vulgarism and a colloquial form merits the curse of Canaan. The very term "vulgarism" is of their coinage and the peculiarities of the vulgar or common

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speech have acquired in their eyes a moral taint. The Reverend the Honorable Edward Lyttleton, D.D., for example, addressing the English Association recently, complained that the word "tremendous" is no longer used in its original meaning of "causing to tremble" but has degenerated into a mere synonym of "enormous" or "astonishingly great or strong." "Stunning" and "stupefying" should not be used, if we are to accept the authority of the reverend gentleman, unless we refer to a literal state of unconsciousness. "Reliable" to him is an intolerable solecism, because we do not say "rely" but "rely on." "Exterminate" must be confined to its ancient meaning of "banish" and must under no circumstances be used in the sense of "destroy" or "uproot." In fact I should not have said, "under no circumstances," because "under" contradicts the meaning of "circum," "around." The fact that cultivated people everywhere are accepting the new meanings without any consciousness of error seems to have no bearing whatever on the question. Dr. Lyttleton calls upon the members of the English Association to assault the mischief of language change "with vigilance, promptitude, and confidence."

Turning to the grammar textbooks in common use in American schools, we find them guilty of the most unpardonable pedantry in the formulation of rules governing everyday usage. Professor Robert C. Pooley of the University of Wisconsin recently published a monograph in which he demonstrated that a large number of recent textbooks widely used in American institutions of learning from elementary school to college explicitly condemned many popular expressions which have the most authoritative sanction both in the language practises of cultivated people and in the writings of accepted masters of English prose. Among these locutions placed upon the proscribed list by the grammarians are the so-called "split infinitive," the misplaced adverbial modifier, the use of "their" after such pronouns as "anybody," the use of "aggravating" for "exasperating," "can" for "may," and the adverbial use of "real" and "sure." Professor Pooley points out that in many cases the mis-

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named "split infinitive" is the only escape from an awkward construction and quotes J. Lesslie Hall to the effect that the split infinitive may be found in the works of Dickens, Matthew Arnold, Browning, George Eliot, Coleridge, Goldsmith, and many others. Herbert Spencer, for example, wrote in his *Philosophy of Style*, "To an active mind it may be easier to bear along all the qualifications of an idea than to first imperfectly conceive it." The grammarians' insistence upon the placing of such adverbs as "only" as near as possible to the word it modifies finds no justification in current usage. One cannot imagine any normal person saying, "Only if John were here!" In real life the expression, "If only John were here!" would occasion no academic censure in the most reputable society and no one would interpret "only" as a modifier of the subject.

In the cases just mentioned the textbook rules are the result not so much of pedantry as of ignorance of the simple facts of English philology. Thus, for example, the use of the expression "have got" in the sense of simple possession, while almost universally condemned by the textbooks Pooley analyzed, is absolutely established, not only in current usage (in the judgment of competent linguists) and in reputable precedent among prose writers but also by an observation of the process by which a perfect tense comes to have present meaning. Thus not only the grammarians but many lexicographers have declared the word "gotten" undesirable although Pooley convincingly shows that "there is every evidence that 'gotten' is still alive and flourishing on both sides of the Atlantic, and that many 'good writers' use it naturally and correctly."

Even if language were a static institution, therefore, the writers of textbooks would still be charged with serious errors and with attempting to inflict upon the youth burdens too grievous to be borne. But their most serious error consists in their failure to recognize that what was incorrect 25 years ago may be standard English today. Thus Pooley points out that the word "like" as a conjunction is on the borderline of acceptability in American English; that it is widely used in speech; and that it is find-

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ing its way into literature. The use of "most" for "almost" is a similar case. Resistance to this tendency on the part of the schools is as needless as it is futile.

A study of recent investigations in the field of English usage would be surprising to the average reader whose conceptions of language accuracy were shaped in high school or college. One of the most interesting of these researches was undertaken a few years ago by the late Professor Sterling A. Leonard of the University of Wisconsin and completed and published by the National Council of Teachers of English. While the Council itself took no stand in this controversy between schoolmarm English and "English as she is spoke," it precipitated a lively fight between the old line pedagogues and the more realistic linguists. The position of the latter was tersely stated by one linguist in these words: "Grammar rules are valid insofar as they summarize practice, the practice determining the correctness of the rule rather than the rule the correctness of the practice." Against this scientific commonplace the high priests of the Cult of Purity rose in righteous indignation.

Leonard's study was conducted by means of a questionnaire addressed to a large number of linguists, teachers, well-known authors, business men, publishers, magazine editors, and newspaper men. The sample sentences submitted for their judgment contained numerous disputable usages in grammar and punctuation. The results showed that many of the rigid punctuation rules taught with remarkable zeal and energy in high schools and colleges were invalid by the standards of present use. Teachers were particularly shocked by the results of the grammar survey. The favorite stock in trade of the disciples of Holofernes was largely discredited by the judges, who approved for colloquial use such expressions as "It is *me*"; "*Who* are you looking for?"; "Invite *whoever* you wish"; "Everyone was here, but *they* all went home early"; "*healthy* climate"; "*awfully* cold"; "try *and* get well"; and "*had* rather." Even the hated conjunctional "like," which Pooley held to be on the "borderline of acceptability," was declared by a number of the

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linguists to be entirely correct and necessary in some cases—always, when the clause verb is suppressed. Thus to say, "He danced as a child," would mean, "He danced when he was a child." The construction, "He danced like a child," therefore becomes inescapable, notwithstanding the taboo of the grammarians. The sentence, "Do it like he tells you," would still seem preferable to the childish form, "Do it how he tells you," even thought the latter would be technically correct. As for the expression, "It is me," so widely condemned as illiterate by the purists, it was regarded as accepted usage by a substantial majority of the judges. One of them commented, "*I* sounds quite mad in certain cases; e.g., pointing to a photo: 'Which is I?'!!! 'Oh, I see, that's I'!!! Absolutely non-English, hang all the grammarians on earth!" The punctuation study revealed that the textbook rules governing the use of punctuation marks are frequently arbitrary and out of harmony with prevailing practises among well-known writers, newspaper men, and leading magazine and book publishers. Perhaps the most startling of the revelations was the fact that the comma blunder, or comma splice, the horror of the schoolmarm and the instructor in Freshman composition, need not necessarily be regarded as an error. These expert judges were evenly divided on the use of the comma between two coordinate clauses without a connective, when the clauses are closely related in thought. Just as many judges approved of the sentence, "It had been snowing, then it began to rain," as disapproved of it.

A new angle in the study of language, one that has a vital bearing upon the teaching of English in the common schools, is suggested by the fundamental research being conducted by Professor Charles C. Fries of the University of Michigan. Fries is not concerned with anybody's opinion as to the acceptability of a construction but with the actual facts of usage by the mass of English-speaking people, not only with reference to disputable cases but with reference to all significant grammatical phenomena. From the huge mass of data he has gathered he finds it convenient to classify language practises on three levels of

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usages: the socially acceptable or standard English; the semi-illiterate or vulgar English; and the group between—the language used by the common body of the people. Here we have the basis for an intelligent program in the teaching of the mother tongue if indeed a systematic program in that field is desirable for native children. When the results of Fries' study become available it should be possible to know what standards to set for those students who aspire to a collegiate education. Perhaps if the colleges began to aim at a real mastery of those language habits which are essential to normal intercourse among cultivated people and if they dispensed with the prepossessions and pedantries which now clutter the textbooks they would be more successful in turning out a respectable product. Perhaps if the elementary schools and the high schools confined themselves to the teaching of those language practises which are in common currency among the masses of literate people they would be more successful in establishing fairly adequate standards of efficient communication in language. Or would this be too much to hope for?

Of one thing we can be certain: the schools are failing, with all their high-powered modern pedagogy, to teach even the barest essentials of literate English, in spite of their prudish adherence to bookish standards which the most distinguished English stylists have been unwilling to observe. Thanks to a recent investigation that has attained mammoth proportions we can make that statement with assurance. This investigation, which has just been completed, was undertaken in 1930 by the Psychological Corporation, under the direction of Dr. L. J. O'Rourke, and was continued under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York through the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Forty thousand teachers and a million and a half pupils, representing schools in every state of the Union as well as Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, participated in the survey. A state-wide project was launched as a part of the study in Pennsylvania, where the famous Pennsylvania study of the colleges was recently com-

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pleted. The state department of education of Ohio adopted the investigation as a project of its own. It is doubtful whether any education survey other than the National Survey of Secondary Education, which was conducted by the federal Office of Education, has ever been attempted on a grander scale.

O'Rourke divided the items of usage taught in the common school curriculums into three classifications: (1) essentials, (2) niceties, (3) least important items. The classification was made on the basis of judgments of hundreds of teachers. In the first group were found such constructions as the case of the pronoun in the sentence, "He invited John and me," the distinction between "sit" and "set," "lie" and "lay," and "rise" and "raise," the distinction between "well" and "good," and between "those" and "them." The second group consisted of such items as the distinction between "which" and "who" in referring to animals and persons, the distinction between "may" and "can," and the exact use of the article, as in "The secretary and the treasurer are selected first" (not "and treasurer"). Among those items classified as of least importance in the scale of usage values were the distinction between "angry at" and "angry with," insistence on the present tense for a statement of permanent fact, as in the sentence, "He said that the world is round" (not was), and the use of so . . . as, not as . . . as, in negative comparisons, e.g., "This is not so useful as that" (instead of "as useful").

Was the basis for this classification a valid one? Perhaps not. But the startling fact is that in the final tabulations the so-called "niceties" proved to have been taught with much less success than those called "essential" items and the "least important" items showed a still smaller degree of mastery—this in spite of the fact that according to the records teachers commonly gave a maximum of attention to the "niceties" and the "least important" items. There is but one conclusion that can be drawn from this situation. The items in groups two and three were more difficult to teach and to learn because the "grammatically correct" forms are not part of the ordinary usage of the common body of people.

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The survey revealed an even more disquieting condition with respect to the essentials—the items of usage regarded as part of the necessary equipment of the literate person. Eighth grade pupils—50 per cent of whom do not go on to high school—master (in the final averages) less than half of the essential items—44.7 per cent to be exact. High school seniors master 74.3 per cent, not of all the items of usage but of the barest essentials! May we not reasonably assume that if the schools stopped trying to teach schoolmarm English, the forms that most people do not observe anyway, they would have a fair chance of imparting the first requisites of intelligible communication? Certainly so long as eighth grade pupils master the punctuation of independent clauses by only 11 per cent, the distinction between "rise" and "raise" by 27 per cent, and the avoidance of the double negative by 54 per cent it is folly to spend such an enormous amount of time on the apparently unteachable items—the avoidance, for example, of the expression, "It says in the paper."

"We can no more arrest this process (of language change) than King Canute could check the tide," says the Preface to the Leonard study. If the textbook writers could be made to understand this, both the schools and the pupils could be made to enjoy a New Deal. Thus far there is little evidence that these pedagogues are aware of what is going on in their own field.

Not only the reactionaries in education but the public itself is guilty of fighting windmills in language instruction. When the Leonard study first appeared and it was declared that "It is me" is academically respectable, at least for colloquial purposes, the newspapers released a barrage of criticism at the corrupters of the mother tongue. *Vox Populi* and the editorial sections were enlisted in a crusade in behalf of purism. What the public could not understand, or would not understand, was the fact that if any corruption was taking place it was attributable to the irresistible flow of life itself and that the linguists were simply recording the process.

At bottom the difficulty lies in the persistence of the aristo-

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cratic tradition in education. Education was once the special privilege of the wealthy and the powerful. When its benefits were extended to the masses in the United States the leisure class traditions of culture were made the core of the curriculum, with little regard to the changed functions of education. The masses themselves frequently sought the classical learning, which they regarded as a badge of social superiority. Education which fitted them for the fearful struggles of the present and for an understanding of the social issues which involved the welfare of their class met with the determined opposition of the beneficiaries themselves.

It will be interesting to note what effect the splendid work of O'Rourke and his staff will have upon the hobbies of the schoolmarms. The textbook authors may be forced to accept the inevitable and the schools may begin to teach a living, not a dead English. But then again, judging from past experience with such matters, they may not.

Hakluyt and the English Voyages

CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ

Salt of the sea was ever on his lips;
Creaking of English sails and cold spume lifting
Across his cheek from wraiths of outbound ships
That filled the night with their eternal drifting . . .
Westward and ever west to wind-swept lands,
And sweet horizons, on and ever on,
These ghostly fleets that paused on misted strands
Anchored in darkness, fading with the dawn.

This dreamer held in port, in four walls placed,
His sails, the edges of the curtain blowing,
His far-off visions, simple words well traced
From bronzèd pilots to his fireside going.
And yet the sea was there . . . from Hakluyt's pen
It surges still, it sings of Englishmen.

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A Nation in the Making—India

THE EARL OF LYTTON
Member of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform

ON August 2nd the Royal Assent was given to the Government of India Bill, 1935, after an exhaustive study, extending over seven years, of the Indian Constitutional problem. Whatever his opinion of the result may be, no one can deny that every possible step has been taken to ascertain all shades of Indian opinion and to find the best solution compatible with the conflicting interests and the complicated conditions of the Indian situation. After a two-year enquiry in India by the Statutory Commission, three Round Table Conferences in London, and further examination in India of particular problems by four Parliamentary Committees, and finally a study of the whole problem by a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament for nearly two years, a Bill of 470 clauses was introduced into the House of Commons at the beginning of this year and was finally passed by both Houses before the end of the Session. As the Secretary of State explained, when moving the 3rd Reading of the Bill, the volume of the published material on the subject during these 7½ years was equal to twenty times the volume of the Authorised Version of the Bible!

It may interest American readers to be told what is the nature of the Constitution which has been evolved so conscientiously and with such immense labour.

The policy embodied in this Bill is in accordance with the tradition that we have followed in our Dependencies for a century or more. It started with Canada and is notably exemplified in the case of South Africa. Our contact with India for 150 years made it inevitable that the people of that country should come to wish for some form of Parliamentary Government, and that

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we should regard the possibility of its establishment as the crowning achievement of British statesmanship. A definite beginning of representative and responsible Government was made in 1919, and the Bill of this year makes a considerable further advance towards the eventual goal. This policy of establishing self-government in the different parts of the Empire may be regarded as having originated in the lesson that we learnt from the events leading up to the Declaration of American Independence.

Like the American Constitution but unlike our own, the Indian Constitution is a written one. This is necessary and unavoidable. We believe, however, in fluidity and elasticity in constitutional matters, and we have done what we can to provide for this in the case of India. Unavoidably we have had to be rigid in certain matters, but we have also tried, by the use of general definitions and by avoiding the prescription of details where it has been possible, to provide a certain amount of room in which in its practical operation the Constitution can adapt itself to circumstances. An important feature in this connection is the Instrument of Instructions, by means of which the Governor-General and the Governors can be directed how to use their powers under the Constitution, these directions being expressed in language which will not be open to interpretation in the Courts and which therefore does not have to be excessively precise and legalistic. The Instrument of Instructions has, of course, been a feature of the Dominion Constitutions, but its use is being very much developed in the case of India. The two main principles of the Constitution are (1) that the Ministries should be able to command the support of the Legislatures; and (2) that the executive heads of the Governments, namely the Governors and the Governor-General, should normally act upon the advice of their Ministries. Nowhere in the Act itself are these two principles prescribed. The Act simply creates Ministries to "aid and advise" and sets up Legislatures with precise legislative powers. The Instrument of Instructions will provide that the Governor-General and the Governors shall appoint Ministries

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who will be able to command the confidence of the Legislature and shall be guided by the advice of these Ministries, except in certain specified matters in which they are to act according to their own judgment and discretion.

The position of the Governor-General and the Governors will be a sort of cross between that of the British Crown and that of the American President. Over a large field they will act constitutionally on the advice of Ministers as the British Sovereign does. On the other hand they will have within a field, which is certainly very important but none the less limited, powers, independent of the Legislature, not unlike those of the American President. Like the American President, but unlike the British Prime Minister, they will have an existence and an authority independent of the Legislature. The difference is, of course, that the American President is the creation of the American people and an expression of their will at least as much as the American Legislature, if not more. The Governor-General and the Governors in India will represent the British Crown and will be responsible to the British Parliament for such of their actions as are in their own discretion and not on the advice of their Ministers.

The special powers to be conferred upon the Governor-General and the Governors are therefore not autocratic and despotic, though it is by British rather than Indian public opinion that they will be checked. These powers are necessitated by the actual circumstances of India, and they arise inevitably from either (1) the peculiar conditions of India such as the racial, Communal and religious cleavages of the people, and their inability at present to provide, unaided, for certain necessities, in particular for defence; or (2) the obligations which have grown up from the historic and long-continued relationship between Great Britain and India, e.g., in regard to finance, trade and the British Civil Services.

Chief among the causes which necessitate the retention for a time of special powers in the hands of the Governor-General and Governors is the existence in India of acute Communal

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differences between the two main races—the Moslems and the Hindus. The Moslems predominate in the north, the Hindus in the south; in some Provinces the two communities are nearly equal, in others one community largely outnumbers the other. At present the possession of a common Indian nationality is not strong enough to override the antagonisms caused by different religions, customs and social systems, and since the introduction of the Reforms in 1919 Communal bitterness has become more acute. On the whole the feeling is strongest among the Moslems, who regard the Hindu culture as fundamentally idolatrous; but where the killing of cows is involved Hindu susceptibility is equally fanatical.

On the subject of representation the Hindus are in favour of a common electoral roll, which is, of course, the only system compatible with true democracy, but the Moslems are vehemently opposed to this and would accept no constitution which did not provide for special seats for their communities. Since agreement between the two communities as to the proportion of seats to be allotted to each has proved impossible, both communities left this matter to be decided by the British Prime Minister. The Communal Award therefore was forced upon us by the existence of this irreconcilable difference, and it can only be modified by the agreement of both communities. On the whole the Moslem community is satisfied with the Award, and the Hindu community is opposed to it. Had we been reluctant to proceed with Constitutional reform in India this acute difference of opinion would have afforded sufficient justification for doing nothing, but the Communal settlement is in fact a genuine evidence of our desire to proceed with the problem of Indian self-government.

The Government of India Bill brings about two important changes in the present Constitution. In the Provinces Diarchy will be abolished, and complete autonomy will be conferred upon the Provincial Governments. In all those subjects which are defined as "Provincial," Governments in future will have very much more power and authority than they had before. The

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supervision of the Government of India will be very much less, and all the functions of government in the Provinces will be conducted by the Governor acting with his Ministers.

This is the first important change which will be made in the Constitution, and it is necessary to emphasize in this connection that so far as the Provincial Governments are concerned British India will have complete self-government throughout. And the Provincial subjects are all those which concern individuals in their daily lives. Everything which affects their local life will be under the complete control of the local government, which will be responsible to an elected local Parliament. The subjects reserved to the Government of India, known as Federal Subjects, are important more particularly in relation to the outside world than to the daily life of the people who live in India.

This has an important bearing on the subject of social reform. Most of the social evils in India are inextricably bound up with religion and could not easily be remedied by a Government that was pledged not to interfere with religion. The Provincial Governments, which will be responsible to the Indian people, will in future be free to deal with such matters, subject only to the special responsibility of the Governor to prevent Communal injustice or acts that may lead to disorder.

The second important change in the Constitution is the introduction, at the Centre, of that element of responsibility which has hitherto existed only in the Provinces. Not only that, but the Central Government is to become a Federal Government for the whole of India. That is to say, for the first time the nominated representatives of those Indian States which are ruled over by the Princes will sit together with the elected representatives of the Provinces of British India. With regard to those subjects which are transferred—all the subjects, to repeat, which deal with internal affairs—the Viceroy will have Ministers who will be responsible to the Legislature exactly as are Ministers in the Provinces. For the administration of the reserved subjects—Foreign Affairs, Defence, and the relations

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between the Viceroy and the Indian States—the Viceroy will have three Councillors to advise him.

The direct association of the Indian States with a Federal Government is the most important feature of the new Constitution. Hitherto we have been able by the exercise of the Paramount Power to carry out those policies covering the whole of India which are necessary for its progress and welfare—for example, the establishment of railways, posts and telegraphs. In effect, though not in form, there has heretofore, to a large extent, been a Federal policy for all India. We have had to impose this upon the States, if possible by persuasion but failing that by insistence. Naturally this has not been satisfactory to the States and has given rise to much friction and complaint. If all-India policies are to be successfully carried out in the future it is essential to find some means by which the States will take their share in the determination of them, in responsibility for them as well as in the obligations incurred. Customs policy is, of course, a leading case in point. This was comparatively unimportant when the duties were low but becomes a matter of the greatest interest to the States when the duties are on a 20 to 30 per cent level as they are now. Looked at from another point of view, the introduction of the States into the Central Government of India brings in valuable elements of experience and authority; and the States will act as a brake upon any tendency towards radicalism and demagogy.

The relations between the units of the Federation and the Central machinery may be a matter of interest to American readers. The representatives of British India in the Federal Legislature will not be elected directly but by the Provincial Legislatures. They will thus represent at the Centre the federating units of British India in much the same way as the local communities are represented in the States, though the representatives of the Federating States are nominated rather than elected. Secondly, the Indian Federal Government will not have, as the Federal Government of the U. S. A. has, a complete executive and judicial organisation existing side by side with the systems

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of the units. Of course, for certain exclusively Central purposes, the Indian Federal administration will have its own Services, but for the most part it will work through the Provincial administrations. Thirdly, the Federal authority and the authorities of the units will have their own defined lists of administrative and legislative subjects, and there will be a concurrent field in which they will both be free to operate, subject, of course, to the principle that Federal legislation will prevail in the case of conflict or inconsistency. These three spheres of authority have been worked out with an exceptional degree of detail and precision. The need for holding a balance between the Centre and the units, and for avoiding the usual course of giving the residuary powers to either one or the other, has been due to the fact that there is a deep and irreconcilable cleavage of opinion in India, on the one hand tending towards strengthening the Centre, and on the other hand towards strengthening the Provinces. The Moslems, having no hope of ever being in power at the Centre, prefer to see power allotted as far as possible to the Provinces, in four of which they will have a majority, whereas the Hindus favour the Centre. The existence of an independent authority, derived from the British Parliament, in the hands of the Governors and the Governor-General will be an indispensable element in holding the balance in this respect, as of course in other respects too.

Such is the nature of the changes in the Indian Constitution which will be brought about by the new Act when it comes into force. The controversy that it has aroused has centred round two features—the transfer of Law and Order in the Provinces and the creation of an element of responsibility at the Federal Centre. That there is some risk in such developments is undeniable, but all Constitution-building is necessarily speculative and there is no course which can be said to be free from risk. In public affairs the bravest course is generally the safest, and this was strikingly the case with the Constitution granted to South Africa at the end of the Boer War.

Throughout the discussions it has been clear to the supporters

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of the Bill that to grant Provincial autonomy without the transfer of Law and Order would be a much more dangerous experiment. An essential feature of stable government is the ranging of public opinion on the side of Law and Order, and to have withheld from the local Governments the control of the police would have concentrated the whole public opinion of the Provinces against the force employed for the maintenance of order. The police in India to-day are loyal to the Government and wholly dependable, but it is doubtful that their loyalty would remain proof against the hostility which would have been aroused if they had become the only service of Government withdrawn from the control of responsible Ministers.

Similarly a Federal system of Government for the whole of India without any responsible Ministers at the Centre was impossible, because the Princes made it perfectly clear that they would take no part in a Federal system without any element of responsibility at the Centre.

How many Princes will eventually adhere to the Federal system is not yet known, since each Prince is left free, by means of what is called an Instrument of Accession, to decide whether he will come in, and if so on what terms; and the Princes could not make a final decision until they knew in what form the Bill would be passed by Parliament. But the Federal part of the new Constitution will not come into force until a sufficient number of Princes have signified their adherence. Until the Instruments of Accession have been finally approved there must therefore be a considerable delay in bringing the whole Act into operation.

The new Act is not the completion of the final stage in the development of the Indian Constitution, but it marks a very important advance towards that goal of full responsible Government which has been laid down by Parliament, and it offers to the many different races which inhabit that vast Continent a real opportunity of achieving a National Government and of developing political institutions on lines which are in harmony with their local conditions.

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Medical Aid for All

HUGH CABOT

IT cannot reasonably be doubted that the provision of a satisfactory health service for the people of the United States presents a real problem. This problem has been steadily growing during the last generation for two reasons, first, because of the increasing complication which has come from enormous increase in the application of science to the practice of medicine, and second—really a result of the first—the increase of the cost of satisfactory medical care. A good deal of discussion has taken place as to the whys and wherefores of the very obvious increase in cost, but the reasons are not far to seek. The last quarter of a century has seen an astonishing increase in the possible application of scientific method to the diagnosis and treatment of disease. Today methods which were fairly satisfactory thirty or forty years ago are so make-shift as to be nearly worthless. Scientific method requires expensive apparatus, well-equipped laboratories, hospital accommodations, and an enormous increase in the number of thoroughly trained specialists. Although it is undoubtedly true that the physician of today could offer the brand of medical care which his grandfather supplied at a price as low as or lower than was then possible, such care would today be quite unacceptable.

Very roughly and generally speaking the cost of illness per capita in the United States at about 1930 was $30 per person. This does not sound like a prohibitive sum, but it does not in fact represent the expense which many people bear. The cost of illness is very unevenly distributed, and in any one year something like 10 per cent of the people will pay 50 per cent of the bill. Such impossible situations as that of a family with an income of

Although I am aware that it would be highly desirable to document this article in order to support what may seem dogmatic statement, space does not permit, and I have recently done it elsewhere.—H. C.

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$1,200 having medical expenses running to $1,000 in one year are by no means unknown. Under such conditions the burden becomes literally crushing. Furthermore, fairly careful studies at various periods show that in different parts of the country from 15 to 25 per cent of those people with disabling illness removing them from work for two weeks have no medical care. It should also be noted that the amount of medical care received by families of the United States increases directly with income.

It is next important to inquire what proportion of the people of the United States are comfortably able to meet their doctor's bills and what proportion are in more or less serious difficulties. Only a small group, probably about 10 per cent, with a family income of $5,000 or more are regularly able to pay their doctor's bills, as they occur, without serious inconvenience. A large group, something like 40 per cent, with family incomes ranging from $1,400 to $2,500 have sufficient income to pay their doctor's bills on the average but are quite unable to do so regularly on account of the tremendous variation in the load. This load is so uneven and so unpredictable as to be practically unbudgetable. As will later be pointed out, it would be possible for this large group to meet their expenses if they could be handled by some method resembling insurance. There is next a considerable group, amounting to something like 15 per cent, with family incomes of $1,000 or less who can meet only a part of their doctor's bills even under the best of conditions. Finally, there is a considerable group properly classified as indigent, amounting to something like 4½ per cent of the population. For these the whole expense of medical care must obviously be provided out of the public purse.

Turning now to the question of the basic requirements for what will be accepted as satisfactory medical care, we find that the situation has changed importantly during the present century. The amount of knowledge necessary to the satisfactory care of illness is now so great that it is quite out of the question for a single physician to keep anywhere near abreast of the times. From this it follows that the relation of the general practitioner,

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formerly known as the family doctor, has become importantly altered. He cannot today by himself alone furnish what will be regarded as satisfactory care. He must have not only the assistance of laboratories, including x-ray equipment, but hospitals, nursing service, and ready access to a great variety of specialists. Furthermore we have rather slowly come to realize the importance of dentistry in the general care of health, and although American dentists have probably led the world in skill and dexterity there remains a tremendous lack of sufficient dental service. It is clear, therefore, that although the general practitioner will continue to be the physician who sees the patients in the first instance he will require a large amount of assistance both technical and from specialists in order to do full justice to many situations. These adjuncts to his practice must be easily available and at prices which are not prohibitive.

Let us next turn to a survey of the present personnel which may be called upon to deliver the service. The number of physicians in the United States is larger in proportion to the population than in any other country in the world. At the present time there is something like one physician to every 780 people. In most European countries the number varies from one per thousand of the population to one to 1,700 or 1,800. With the number we have it should be possible to deliver a good article of service. It is more difficult to estimate the number of people available for nursing service, but it is undoubtedly true that we have considerably more nurses per capita than is the case in other countries, and perhaps enough to fulfill reasonable requirements. The supply of dentists is undoubtedly less than will be sufficient to meet actual needs as they exist today. Of hospitals we have many and they have grown very rapidly in number and capacity during the last twenty years. In total they are perhaps enough, except in certain special fields, but their distribution is faulty. There are more than enough hospital beds in many thickly populated districts and not enough in many thinly populated areas. Of hospitals for the accommodation of chronic disease, importantly of mental disease, tuberculosis, cancer, chronic rheumatism, there

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is a serious shortage. Of the personnel needed to carry on what is commonly referred to as public health work, that is to say, public health officers, public health nurses, and their necessary laboratory assistants—there are not enough at the present time to do the work properly.

It has already been suggested that we have more physicians than any other country in the world, and yet it remains true that there are considerable portions of the country where there is an actual shortage. This is particularly true of the rather sparsely settled rural areas where medical service has never been satisfactory and is not so today. It is further true that many towns which twenty years ago had one or more physicians now have none. This arises from the fact that there are not enough people in these small towns and villages to support one or more physicians with the equipment for modern medical diagnosis and treatment which is essential. Obviously physicians will not go to or will not remain in regions where they cannot support their families. With the relatively large number of physicians per capita it has frequently been suggested, chiefly by medical societies and medical organizations, that there are too many physicians. This question obviously turns upon whether we propose to offer a good grade of medical service to the whole population or whether we shall continue to offer a good grade of medical service only to those who can pay in full or in part. It cannot, I think, be doubted, although it has frequently been denied, that if we should undertake to offer full medical care to the whole population of the country regardless of their economic condition we should find ourselves with no more physicians than were necessary and probably with not enough. But no such attempt has ever been made.

The question of the income of physicians in recent years next becomes important. It is perhaps desirable to take as a starting point the evidence of the income of physicians before the recent depression. In 1929 the median income of the physicians of the country was $3,705. However, 24 per cent had a net income of less than $2,000. Twenty-eight per cent had a net income of less than $4,000, and 75 per cent had a net income of $7,000 or less.

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Quite clearly these incomes are not high and are probably too low, taking into consideration the long and expensive educational requirements—which run to ten years and not less than $10,000.

The situation is further complicated by the custom, as old as medical practice, under which physicians treat a very large number of patients quite without expectation of reward. It is variously estimated that physicians spend from a quarter to more than a half of their time on such charity service. As a result of this there has grown up the "sliding scale" of medical fees under which the more opulent members of society pay very large fees in order that physicians may have time to care for the more or less indigent. This amounts to an unofficial graduated income tax upon which is placed a surtax of amount not stated. Thus it may easily come about that rich people pay an amount several hundred times greater than do their brethren in somewhat straitened circumstances. Periodically there is outcry at the size of medical bills in unusual cases, and it is quite clear that the arrangement is uneconomic and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, as long as organized society continues to expect physicians to treat many patients free of charge they will have difficulty in supporting their objection to this system, which amounts to charging "what the traffic will bear."

Up to this moment we have been considering conditions of medical practice prior to the last five years or during the depression, but it is perhaps this depression which has called attention most sharply to the shortcomings of our present arrangements. Moreover, it seems to me quite clear that the depression has had a serious effect upon the service rendered. It has undoubtedly led to a very considerable increase in the very common, although wholly improper, practice of fee-splitting, under which the general practitioner with patients requiring the services of a specialist distributes his patients, not to the most competent specialist but to the one who will offer him the largest slice of the fee. Another source of less satisfactory service has been the tendency of the general practitioner to undertake, in

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order to maintain his income, to carry out work which belongs in the field of the qualified specialist. Thus during the depression a very large amount of major surgery both general and special has been done by quite unqualified general practitioners, though the interest of the patient required that it be done by men of special training. On the other hand, during this period many physicians have found themselves in very much straitened circumstances, and a few of them probably actually in the breadline. This has led to the tightening up of medical organizations in the attempt to obtain for their members a larger share of the diminished income of the country. They have discovered, as have other organized groups, the soundness of the slogan "United we eat." This is an altogether human reaction, but I have an uneasy feeling that it is better suited to organizations of labor than to professional associations avowedly dedicated to service. Similar organizations in other countries, such as the French syndicates of physicians, have become frankly and often chiefly concerned with obtaining income for their members quite without regard to the welfare of the patient. Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the elements in this complicated problem.

A great variety of remedial methods have been suggested, among them the following.

Compulsory health insurance. In one form or another most of the other great countries of the world have instituted some form of compulsory health insurance. Such a remedy was suggested for this country more than twenty years ago. At that time, and again within the last five years, it has met with the bitter opposition of the American Medical Association. Despite the fact, which is apparently true, that in most, if not all, of the countries where it has been instituted, medical service is more widespread than here and that there are fewer people denied service, the opposition of the medical profession in this country has been persistent. On their side they have the undoubted fact that such insurance has nowhere worked entirely satisfactorily. In some countries it has worked better than in others, but it has nowhere succeeded in delivering a really first-class article.

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Furthermore it stands some chance, particularly where the payments to physicians are taken over either directly by the state or indirectly through insurance companies, of handicapping the development of the practice of medicine and of more or less countenancing slipshod methods.

One of the standing objections regularly voiced by physicians is that the offering of service as the result of compulsory insurance always very much increases the recorded amount of illness. Now it is quite extraordinary that this should be put forward as an objection, since obviously if it means anything it means that the system has at least done a part of what it set out to do, namely bringing to the physician a very large number of people who did not previously consult him because they could not pay for his services. Any system which stands any chance of improving medical service must at the outset enormously increase the apparent incidence of illness, although the increase is obviously apparent and not real. As an objection to compulsory insurance this cannot be regarded as a respectable argument.

On the face of it, it would seem as if the problem for the great middle group, previously referred to as 40 per cent, might be handled by the great existing life insurance companies as a simple insurance problem. In practice, however, this course has not been followed, apparently because the risk does not lend itself to calculation by actuarial methods and consequently the premiums are too high to be attractive. Some progress has been made in what is known as group insurance under which the old-line companies undertake to insure relatively large groups without the requirement of physical examination, the calculation being made on the average sickness rate. As far as the real problem is concerned, however, this has been a mere drop in the bucket. Furthermore I must confess to having grave doubts of the soundness of health insurance carried out for profit. I have an abiding conviction that this is not a proper field for private profit and that the money which accrues in the form of profit belongs in fact to those groups in the population for whom no such provision along the lines of group insurance can be made.

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Other forms of voluntary insurance have had some trial and some success.

Insurance by medical groups. In various parts of the country physicians organized into a professional group, often referred to as a clinic, have undertaken to offer complete medical care to considerable groups of people on a prepayment basis. This is perhaps not properly classified as insurance, but under this method, with relatively large groups of patients paying from $22 to $26 or $27 per capita per year, it has been possible to provide very complete medical and surgical service. This seems a promising method but it has been violently attacked by the American Medical Association, and in some cases groups which were offering such service have been required to discontinue it on penalty of being barred from organized medicine. This seems to me distinctly unfortunate since I believe it a valuable method which ought to be encouraged and probably supervised by the medical profession.

Voluntary hospital insurance. Within the last three or four years considerable attempts have been made to insure against an unexpected necessity to find funds to pay large hospital bills. This is of course but one item in the cost of care, but in serious illness it is often a large one, sometimes amounting to more than 50 per cent of the total bill, and one against which it would seem possible to provide on some voluntary prepayment basis. In various parts of the country groups of hospitals, chiefly in the larger cities, have agreed to offer hospital care for reasonably limited periods upon the regular prepayment of moderate sums, generally between $10 and $15 per capita per year. This plan also has been opposed by the American Medical Association, apparently partly because the plan cannot be controlled by physicians and partly because it might tend to interfere with the payments due to physicians. In Great Britain the system has become extensively used as a method of supplementing the care provided under the Compulsory Insurance Act which provides only general practitioner service without laboratory, hospital, or specialist service. Although there are a good many difficult questions involved in

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working out such a system it would seem a desirable supplement to other methods.

Plans suggested by organized medicine. Particularly during the depression and probably as a result of it a great variety of plans have been made by medical organizations, chiefly on the basis of the county medical societies, whereby the services of interested members of the society are offered to the public on various prepayment plans. It is apparently too early to come to any conclusion in regard to the workings of such plans. They will obviously require time for development and will involve the working out of administrative machinery which is likely to be complicated. If they can be developed upon a sufficiently large scale and include a sufficient number of practitioners, both general and special, they may easily prove a valuable method of voluntary insurance.

There have also developed during the same period various plans by which county medical societies set up what might be called service bureaus to which prospective patients may apply, have their financial condition investigated, and enter into various agreements in regard to charge and deferred payments to make the financing of their illness less difficult. These service bureaus refer patients to a list of physicians who in turn may refer the patient to some charitable organization if he is largely without funds. This type of organization has been of service in increasing the income of physicians, but it is in fact largely a method of collecting fees and does not appear to have increased the amount of service actually offered.

At the outset the fact should be squarely faced that although it is possible at the present time to obtain in this country medical care which is certainly the equal and probably the superior of any service offered in the world, such service is in fact received by a relatively small part of the population. It is no use for us to prate of the excellent service which can be obtained. The fact of the matter is that it is not being obtained and under present methods progress is not being made. It is next important to realize that it is probably not possible to set up for the whole

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country any system which will work satisfactorily. The size of the country, the relative density of population, the relative income of the population in various states, variations in climate, variations in transportation, all make out of the question for us a single method such as is relatively practicable in small countries like Denmark. On the other hand we have something to learn from experience elsewhere. It has been found expedient and workable in Scotland under the provisions of the so-called "Highlands and Islands Act" to subsidize physicians in outlying or inaccessible communities so that they are guaranteed a reasonable income, part of which is paid by the state and part contributed by patients. It seems almost certain that for isolated communities for whom the proper support of physicians is financially impossible such practices may prove of value here.

It next seems obvious that for a large middle group of the population the distribution of costs of medical care over a term of years by some system of prepayment—often called insurance—is the practicable method. The difficulty arises in obtaining from this group contributions in sufficient numbers. The evidence tends to show that for them some modicum of compulsion will be necessary. Only in this way does it seem probable that sufficiently large sums could be collected to finance proper medical care. Since in the case of this group it will probably be wise to demand contributions from the employer, where there is one, this system will be most easily applicable to the industrial population. This will of course involve another tax on business, and if imposed will have to be adjusted in such a way as not to bear too heavily. Likewise the size of the contribution to be expected from the employee will be difficult to decide. Finally, it will require considerable study to determine the method of obtaining contributions from a large group of people, as for instance the farmer population where there is no employer and where the amount of cash income is relatively small. It will be easy to raise objections. It will be difficult to get agreement. And it will be difficult to decide upon the amounts that must be collected in order to do the job properly.

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The next item should be the abandonment of the longstanding custom of expecting physicians to give their services free for the care of the indigent. Although very large amounts of money have been raised for public hospitals through taxes and for voluntary hospitals through charitable contributions, these have never included the sums necessary properly to compensate physicians for their services. Such compensation will require the actual raising of new money, and unless we are prepared to face the increased taxation here involved, there is, I believe, no large probability that the problem of satisfactory medical care will be solved.

Furthermore, whereas before the depression doctors were collecting a large proportion of their income from about 10 per cent of the population—those with an income of $5,000 or more —this source of income has been violently contracted and the medical profession is now trying to make a living out of a group that is smaller and perhaps permanently diminished. This has given rise to the declaration by the American Medical Association that there are too many physicians and that the number should be progressively decreased. This of course, if proceeded with, means that we abandon any idea of offering medical service to the whole population and concern ourselves only with maintaining the incomes of enough physicians to care for the reasonably well-to-do. This is a somewhat brutal method of stating the argument but it is substantially the fact. Now one obvious remedy for this situation is that the public shall make up their minds to pay physicians for their services to the indigent. This would at once importantly increase the income of physicians and might halt the growing demand that we curtail our, in my judgment, already insufficient supply of physicians.

Another very essential prerequisite to a solution will be a less conservative and obstructive attitude on the part of organized medicine. The fact of the matter is that during recent discussions they have become alarmed as to their future status. They have seen visions of what is called "state medicine" under which it is thought that all physicians will be employees of the state.

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They have seen visions of political control under which their services and their activities will be dictated by the whim of politicians. Now these are not mere ghosts but real dangers which, if they should be realized, would not only injure the physicians but injure everybody concerned, since they would inevitably curtail progress, blight initiative, and probably very much alter the desirable personal relation between physician and patient. If these things should happen our last case would be worse than our first. Driven by these fears organized medicine has too often been obstructive. Its members have adopted a "holier than thou" attitude, they have been intolerant, and even abusive, of the great philanthropic foundations which have made careful, expensive, and valuable studies of the problems at hand. They have adopted much the same attitude in regard to the large groups of social workers, whose contribution to the problem of health service has been very substantial. At times organized medicine has seemed to me to trade a good deal, and in fact more than was wise, upon the reputation which it has achieved and deserved in the past. It has not shown great wisdom or great ability in disciplining its own members. Its efforts to stem the tide of such iniquities as fee-splitting have been futile. It has frequently attempted to discipline its members by expulsion from the society, only to find that the courts are singularly unsympathetic and insist upon reinstatement or damages. Organized medicine has been very insistent upon the doctrine of "freedom of choice" under which the patient is to be guaranteed, under all conditions and under any suggested plans, entire freedom in the choice of his physician, but it overlooks the fact that this much-vaunted freedom of choice is almost a pure illusion. From an economic point of view it resembles nothing so much as the famous tea party in *Alice in Wonderland* which involved Alice, the Mad Hatter, and the March Hare. Freedom of choice involves not only an accurate knowledge on the part of the consumer—hereinafter called the patient—but a very considerable classification of the article to be bought—hereinafter known as medical service. At the present time a patient who is in search of

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a general medical counselor has no possible method of deciding where such a person may be found. It is notorious that physicians vary in their ability very much as do other people. It is notorious that the reputation of a physician is a very unsatisfactory measure of his knowledge, skill, and capacity. It is notorious that, in this country at least, physicians are licensed as general practitioners of medicine and surgery, and may hold themselves out —and frequently do—as having skill and abilities quite beyond their power to deliver the service. It thus appears to me that before organized medicine is on sound ground in insisting upon freedom of choice, it will be well-advised to set up some accurate guide under which the skill and capacity of physicians is set forth in such a way that the patient may exercise this freedom now offered with one hand and taken away with the other.

Again in many of the pronouncements of organized medicine in relation to various suggested plans for so-called compulsory insurance it has been insisted that physicians should have complete control of the whole performance. This appears to me to endow physicians not only with knowledge and skill in their own fields but with knowledge and skill in the fields of economics, finance, and sociology quite beyond that which they really possess. It seems to me doubtful whether much progress can be made until the medical profession is more willing than it has been in the past to attempt the working out of a solution, the end and object of which is to offer good medical service at all levels and in such a way as to maintain and enhance the progress and dignity of the profession.

It is my best judgment that this will involve very careful discussions between the representatives of three groups, all on an equal footing. Obviously the physicians must be represented, since they are in fact the qualified experts on all the medical questions involved. Next there must be the proper representatives of experts on financial and economic problems, for certainly the methods by which large sums of "new money" are to be come by cannot be satisfactorily settled by medical experts. Finally the largely forgotten man, the consumer, above referred

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to as the patient, is entitled to full representation. After all, he will appear in two aspects, in one of which he will suffer under the possible lack of skill of the medical experts, and in the other of which he will certainly suffer as to his pocketbook under the arrangements likely to prove possible and to be advised by the financial and economic experts. Obviously the poor old consumer, or patient, must have handsome representation.

Some at least of the difficulties which have so far proved insuperable might be overcome if we started out with the proposition that we turn over to the physicians the job of looking after everybody at every level and providing satisfactory care. The balance of the problem is financial and administrative. There is a group, although I fear a small one, about whom we need have no concern for they can pay their bills. For the next great group, which will probably include considerably more than half the population, some form of compulsory annual contribution seems to me essential. This should be fixed at an amount believed to be sufficient to pay for proper care. It should be collected and administered by the Government, using this word to cover local, state, or national fields. Finally, there is the group classified as indigent for whom payment must be made, and obviously in the long run under the auspices of either state or local governments. There might thus be created a condition under which the profession was responsible for the care of the sick, various commissions were responsible for the collection of prepaid amounts, and local governments were responsible for the collection of those funds necessary to care for the indigent. Physicians would render their bills in three ways; one, directly to the patient, where he was able to pay and not making payments to a commission; two, to a commission which might have the right to pass upon their reasonableness but would have to pay them; finally, to local government units for payment for the care of the indigent. Such a plan would have the advantage of putting the profession on their mettle, of making the community face the care of the indigent, and of requiring of the great middle group of the population that it take heed to the future.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

Archeology and Relief

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IN December 1934 under the Civil Works Administration a number of archeological projects were organized with the primary purpose of reducing unemployment. The scientific direction of these particular emergency measures was given to the Smithsonian Institution which, since its founding in 1846, has carried on much important prehistoric research for the National Government. In the nature of the case it was the primary purpose of the C.W.A. to set a large number of unemployed persons to work with the least possible delay, while it was the duty and desire of the Smithsonian Institution to see that the scientific results attained might be as extensive and complete as the unusual opportunity warranted. The present article aims to sum up briefly the nature and results of these particular projects and their bearing on the wider problems of scientific archeology as a channel for relief employment.

In this case the choice of archeological sites was limited by climatic and economic factors. First, the work must be done in regions where winter conditions were mild, and second, it must be carried on at sites where unemployed labor was abundant and close at hand. In all, eleven C.W.A. archeological projects, employing about 1,500 persons, were launched within a month. Seven of these were in Florida, and one each in Georgia, North Carolina, California, and Tennessee.

The seven sites excavated in Florida were selected with the above qualifications in view and also with a scientific aim—to secure a cross-section of the aboriginal cultures in the state. The northern half of the Florida peninsula was formerly occupied by tribes belonging to the Timucuan linguistic stock. In this region excavations were begun on the Canaveral peninsula, and a number of habitation and burial mounds that yielded many skeletons and a limited number of artifacts were opened. These structures apparently pertained to the Surruque Indians who occupied this part of Florida when it was discovered by the Spaniards. Hitherto Surruque history has consisted solely of a brief catalog of repeated disasters ending with the extermination of

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this tribe slightly more than a century after its first contact with Europeans. At Ormond Beach, in what the Spanish called "the fresh-water provinces," another important excavation was made. A mound containing scattered burials was opened and below this were found two concentric circles of extended burials apparently contemporaneous with the village-site materials which also underlay the mound. Pottery vessels, pipes, carved shell and stone ornaments occurred in these levels, their specific styles throwing considerable light on the civilization and antecedents of the Mayaca Indians, also of Timucuan stock, who occupied the area at the time of discovery.

South of Lake Okeechobee in the central portion of Florida is a rather different archeological area, once occupied by the Calusa Indians. Excavations in this region were made at Belle Glade, at sites on the Little Manatee River and near Englewood. The Belle Glade site was exceptionally significant since it consisted of a true refuse heap or midden, not a shell heap, above muck deposits. There was also a burial mound in association with it. Particularly striking were a number of elaborately carved wooden specimens that had been preserved in the muck. Many years ago Cushing found almost identical specimens at Key Marco on the west coast, but so rarely are perishable materials preserved in this general area and so unique were the finds that many questioned the authenticity of the first discovery. The Belle Glade specimens prove their authenticity and prehistoric age beyond any doubt. In addition the Belle Glade excavations yielded numerous skeletons, broken pottery, bone, stone and shell artifacts, all of which throw much light on the nature and extent of the Calusa culture. Several mounds on the Little Manatee River, quite similar in external appearance, proved to contain quite different burial and ceramic types. In one all burials were cremated, in another all were flexed, and in still another all were secondary—that is merely bundles of previously exposed bones. The mound containing the cremations also revealed the complete floor plan of a mortuary temple, the first yet reported from this area. Certain of these sites dated from early post-Spanish times whereas others were prehistoric, indicating a complex history which is being worked out as the data are studied. Near Englewood, under two superimposed mounds, was found a large pit containing more than 100 burials. These were covered by a sterile sand mound which in turn was covered by a layer of white sand on top of which was another burial mound containing numerous secondary burials. The pottery from this complex site is of the finest quality yet known in the Southeast and represents a south-

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ern thrust of a more northern ceramic type.

In Georgia a large group of mounds near Macon yielded especially valuable and picturesque results. One large mound in the Lamar Group was found to have a spiral causeway rising from base to summit. Another, on the Macon plateau, showed at least five successive levels of construction. The top of each level had been sealed with gray or else with vivid red clay, and the vertical profiles showing these successive colored layers are extremely striking. Beneath the base of this mound was a human skeleton covered with thousands of bone and shell beads. The manner in which these were placed indicated that they had formed necklaces, arm bands, and probably decorations on a woven mantle. Careful technique in opening this tomb revealed details of the timbered walls and log mould uprights, with crosspieces clearly indicated on the floor of the grave beneath the bundled bones. Under a small mound nearby was uncovered the entire floor of a still earlier ceremonial house or temple. The floor of this structure was of hard clay, polished by thousands of feet, and around the circular wall ran a bench on which fifty individual seats had been modelled from clay. Before each seat was a rectangular hollow where the occupant probably placed his smoking and ceremonial apparatus. Opposite the entrance, which faced the southeast, was the modelled head and body of a great bird, probably an eagle, which was raised above the encircling seats. This was apparently the great altar. Details of construction, such as the conventionalized, decorative design around the eagle's eye suggest similar devices carved on pottery and shell from the great aboriginal mound site near Moundville, Alabama. The fact that the subterranean passageway of this structure is so placed that the rays of the early morning sun enter the building and fall directly upon the central fireplace and altar is further evidence of the complex ceremonialism once carried on in this early American temple. The Macon site has proved to be so important scientifically and so intrinsically interesting that the earlier work begun under the C.W.A., the Smithsonian Institution, and the Society for Georgia Archeology was continued under the Georgia F.E.R.A., and then by the W.P.A. for twenty-four months of continuous excavations. Plans are being formulated to have this area constituted a National Monument.

His chroniclers say that when, in 1540, Hernando De Soto passed through the western portion of what it now known as North Carolina he found an Indian town, called Guasili, of some 600 wooden houses. Although its size may have been exaggerated it was undoubtedly an important native

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metropolis. Garcilaso de la Vega records that "the lord who bore the name of the province left the capital half a league to meet the Spaniards, accompanied by 500 of the principal persons of the country, very gaily dressed after their fashion. His lodge was upon a mound with a terrace round it, where six men could promenade abreast." Here the hungry explorers were given a hearty welcome after their tedious journey through the Blue Ridge Mountains. To the amazement of the natives the Spaniards caught and cooked some of the Indian dogs, whereupon their hosts immediately rounded up some 300 of the creatures and presented them. Since the geographic location of this native capital seems to have been at the junction of Peachtree Creek and the Hiwassee River, near Murphy, North Carolina, a large mound located at this place was chosen for excavation. As the work progressed three cultural levels were determined: the surface of the mound which yielded intrusive burials (possibly of Cherokee origin) with associated European objects; the mound horizon[1] itself; and the village-site deposit beneath the mound. Burials in stone-lined cists occurred in the mound horizon. Study of the distribution of the stamped and incised pottery and the red and black painted ware from the different structures may indicate occupation by different ethnic groups at different times. Here, as at other sites chosen for such work, the occurrence of an historic dated period of occupation permits the archeologist to proceed logically from the known to the unknown in reading the record.

The area now included in the Shiloh National Park, located on the Tennessee River near Pittsburg Landing, is famous as a major battlefield of the Civil War, but comparatively few people are aware that this action took place over and among the mounds of an important aboriginal site. Since no complete scientific excavations had ever been made at this place it was selected for the C.W.A.-Smithsonian project in Tennessee. Mapping and excavation, amidst the dense deciduous forest that covers the site, revealed seven large earth mounds, six of which had been used for dwellings and one for burial, as well as numerous low elevations marking the places where prehistoric Indian houses once stood. The natives recognized the strategic nature of the site as well as did the Union and Confederate generals for, flanked by two steep ravines, the bluff village was also protected by an embankment which formed the foundation for a stockade. Abundant broken pottery vessels, artifacts, and bur-

[1] We have used the term "horizon" to mean a definite cultural period in pre-historic America, a line of division, in the same manner as used by geologists to separate one stratum from another. Instead of a division between rocks or deposits we refer to material cultures.

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ials occurred in the village site. The excavations here yielded much evidence on the varied aspects of native life during the later prehistoric period. Since the general region is still very little known from the archeological standpoint the present work serves as a promising beginning toward a more complete understanding of an important culture area.

In California work was prosecuted in the southern tip of the great San Joaquin valley, at present an important center for oil production. Two large refuse and shell heaps and several burial sites on Buena Vista Lake were excavated. The most recent of these larger middens was the early historic village of Tulamniu where Father Zalvidea visited the Yokut Indians in 1772. Scientific investigation indicated that behind this early historic date stretched an occupation period of perhaps two millenia at this one site. By detailed stratigraphic work, house plans and burial methods during the different periods of occupation were revealed, and a considerable section of early California history reconstructed. On a hilltop behind the more recent of the two village sites 600 massed burials were uncovered. Near some of these were juniper posts, still preserved below the ground. It is hoped that when the study of annual tree-ring changes has been extended farther these can be read to give the exact dates at which different burials occurred. California shell-heaps are noted for being very poor in artifacts but, thanks to the large-scale operations permitted by the abundant labor as well as to the careful screening techniques employed, sufficient specimens were secured to permit full comparison with neighboring regions. These studies indicate that the ancient inhabitants of the Buena Vista middens were closely related to the occupants of the early shell mounds around San Francisco Bay and that the remote ancestors of the modern Yokuts probably moved up the valley from that direction.

In passing, an important F.E.R.A. project near Marksville, Louisiana, directed by the Smithsonian Institution in 1933, should also be mentioned. A large archeological site marked by mounds and earthworks was acquired by the city as a park, and the local officials invited the Smithsonian Institution to direct excavations there prior to reconstruction. These revealed a native civilization in the Southeast closely related to the most impressive mound-building culture of the Ohio region. The latter horizon, designated Hopewell after the site where it was first found, is entirely prehistoric yet advanced far beyond the status of the historic Indians of Ohio. At Marksville many of the distinctive northern objects, such as mica, obsidian, pearls, utensils and ornaments of copper, as well as

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modelled pipes and figurines are lacking, but the advanced pottery from the two regions is practically identical. Other features such as mounds, platform pipes, and surrounding earthworks are likewise very similar. Since the Marksville variant of the Hopewell culture appears to be very early in the South and lacks many of the fully developed traits of the northern Hopewell it may prove to be the hitherto unknown basic complex from which the exotic northern civilization arose.

From the scientific standpoint these various projects have thrown much new light on the status and nature of the native civilizations which preceded that of the white man in the regions investigated. In Florida the excavations on the Canaveral Peninsula tended to disprove the theory that the mainland had been strongly influenced by the aboriginal cultures of the Greater Antilles. Practically nothing was found to strengthen this widely held belief, whereas the evidence was strong that the higher cultures of native Florida had been derived from centers farther west, toward the Mississippi River. In so far as the artifacts themselves were concerned the discoveries at Belle Glade verified the earlier work of Cushing but indicated, contrary to Cushing's belief, that they pertained to the Calusa Indians and not to any exotic culture. In Georgia the Macon site yielded a stratigraphic series of ceramic types which will go far toward elucidating the sequence of prehistoric cultures over a considerable part of the Southeast. The same is true of the discoveries at Marksville, Louisiana, where the important connections established extend still farther afield. In North Carolina and Tennessee new archeological areas were opened, and in California more light was thrown on the long and amazingly conservative development of native culture which characterized that region from early prehistoric to historic times. Since laboratory study of the specimens and data secured is still in progress, further consideration of the scientific results would be premature. The above merely indicates their probable importance from the standpoint of New World Prehistory.

Considering the great speed with which they were put in motion the above-mentioned archeological projects under the C.W.A. were surprisingly successful. From the standpoint of relief they provided immediate work for numerous people. Over 90 per cent of the funds expended went for labor, since the tools for manual work, both skilled and unskilled, as well as the materials for the preservation of the archeological remains cost very little. And because the values produced were entirely scientific and educational, there was no resultant over-production. The main difficulties encountered were due to the failure of the original

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plans to provide for the supervision of the various aspects of each project by staffs adequately manned by technically-trained archeological assistants, and to the fact that the exact amount of time and expenditure allotted to each project was constantly uncertain. This last factor prevented the accurate planning essential for the completion of a thoroughly productive piece of scientific excavation. So much for the immediate lessons acquired.

The actual application of large bodies of relief labor to such scientific archeological excavation must, however, be carefully considered in the light of broader scientific and educational principles. First, it must be remembered that the number of archeological sites in the United States is strictly limited and that once a site has been carelessly excavated its value is totally destroyed. Such ancient ruins are really material documents that comprise the very stuff of American history. They are all that remain to enable future generations to trace out the story of the original settlement of the New World and the manner in which its strongly individualized and remarkable native civilizations came into being. No national monuments are more truly American than the great temple mounds of the Mississippi Valley, the cliff-dwellings and pueblos of the Southwest, and the great fortified villages of the Upper Missouri. These and all lesser sites contain valuable records which can only be read by those trained for such scientific work.

Recent years have opened new vistas in American prehistory and the work is still in its infancy. In New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado, Nebraska, and elsewhere, human artifacts have been found in association with fossil bison, the giant ground sloth, and the mammoth. Such finds indicate that the ancestors of the American Indian pushed into the North American continent at a very early period while the great Pleistocene ice sheet was still retreating to the north. Some competent students favor the theory that man arrived here even earlier, during certain inter-glacial periods. Certain stratified camp levels found in the Great Plains show the slow development of these early hunting cultures in their various stages. In the same area it has recently been demonstrated that the earliest hunting life was superseded by the advent of native farmers who grew corn and lived in permanent villages. These in turn were routed when the first white man brought in the horse, which was rapidly taken over by the Indians. Mounted, the hunting tribes swept over the Great Plains, setting up the nomadic, militaristic mode of life encountered by our first pioneers and later by our army. In the Southwest the long complex story of the rise of the Pueblo peoples is now well known. Originally basket-making, seed-

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gathering, cave-dwelling, these people later moved into the open and built small adobe villages which in the course of time developed into the great communal apartment houses of the modern pueblo. Thanks to the newly-discovered method of dating by tree rings, most of these larger ruins can now be assigned an actual date. Space forbids further details regarding the rise of the unique mound-building cultures of the Mississippi and Ohio River regions. Some of these may have been forced to migrate to other regions by the incoming Algonkian and the Iroquois, the latter a powerful people who pushed from the Southeast into the New York region; others were encountered by the first Spanish explorers in the South.

This is a mere suggestion of the long and important history patiently being pieced together by American archeologists; no local problem but a vital and integral part of the larger picture of world prehistory that transcends all state or national boundaries. The earliest stages found in the prehistoric United States already suggest certain Paleolithic horizons in Europe and, when more work has been done here and in northern Asia, the human connections between the continents will become known facts instead of pure hypotheses.

The present actual status of archeological conservation in the United States, however, is deplorable. Whereas the Scandinavian countries, France, Italy, Mexico, and many other nations, have nationalized their prehistoric remains in the belief that the objects themselves and the history they represent belong to the people as a whole and not to acquisitive individuals and curio dealers, no effort of this kind has yet been made in the United States. From motives of mere curiosity or greed, dealers and relic-hunters in practically every state are steadily destroying an irreplaceable heritage. The Antiquities Act of 1906 forbids unauthorized archeological excavation on public lands, but the law is difficult to enforce and, so long as archeological specimens can be sold on the open market, can have at best a very limited effect. This annihilation of our "readable past" which, due to the great popularity of "relic hunting," is steadily growing worse, indicates the need for a carefully planned archeological program before it is too late. At present a race between the scientist and the curio seeker is on. Scientists are relatively few in number and must work slowly and carefully, whereas relic hunters are extremely numerous, and loot sites with great rapidity. The probable outcome, unless definite action is taken very soon, is only too obvious. Consequently in mapping out any archeological program, whether for emergency relief or for purely scientific purposes, the basic need for national conserva-

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tion should be primary. Not only should each site opened be excavated with the greatest care, the material completely studied, and the results fully published, but certain sites in every area should be carefully preserved for research in the future, when new techniques have been developed. It is a sad paradox that at this time, when trained men are becoming available and new techniques for determining archeological history are reaching a high pitch of development, the materials themselves should be vanishing like snow before the sun. It is even more tragic since an enlightened national policy in this regard could save them for all time.

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Exploring the Field of Student Aid

WARREN EDWIN BRISTOL
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In setting up a master-file of aids available to students of higher education one of the first decisions was to make the study exhaustive —to include all fellowships, scholarships, loan funds, and opportunities for student employment, not only aids administered academically but those administered by off-campus organizations. This research, begun early in 1928, is not ended; continuous research is in fact essential since the field of student aid is in a state of flux. During recent years investment losses have sent some endowed scholarships to an untimely death, administrative policies have undergone modification, and, happily, new aids are being established.

The lack of a uniform terminology is a minor annoyance. What is the difference between a scholarship and a fellowship? Is the difference one of stipend only? If fellowships are for graduate students, then why "graduate scholarships"? If scholarships and fellowships are grants or gifts what are "loan scholarships"? Are "loan scholarships" synonymous with "loan funds"?

Restrictions attached to aids are often curious, sometimes mandatory. Among the groups of restrictions the following may be cited:

Age. One of the infrequent restrictions. Nevertheless aids bearing this restriction are among the most notable. For instance, applicants for the famed Rhodes Scholarships should not be over 25. Applicants for loans from the Henry Strong Foundation likewise should not be over 25. Certain curricula also bear age restrictions which automatically apply to the accompanying aids. An illustration is found in the coeducational curricula of the University of Virginia. The graduate course in library science, open to students not over 35, is open to women only on condition

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that they have passed their 20th birthday.

Ancestral military record. There are aids earmarked for the descendants of veterans of all wars in which America has engaged. These have been founded by patriotic individuals and societies; by the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and many others. But it remained for a mid-western university to receive funds for the descendants of the veterans of any future war in which America may become engaged!

Family name. It is of interest to boys of the surname of Leavenworth to know that Yale has a $600 scholarship for a student by that name which happens to have gone begging for some ten years. Hamilton also has a fund of $12,000 for students whose surname is Leavenworth. Harvard has an income of $7,300 annually for students by the name of Murphy. And so it goes through a long list of family names! Aids in this group are for lineal descendants of the donor, for collateral descendants, or for students who chance to bear a certain surname irrespective of kinship.

Field of concentration. The trend is toward concentration and still more concentration. Undergraduate aids occasionally are restricted according to field of concentration, graduate aids almost invariably. It is not sufficient for a student to indicate an interest in "engineering," for aids in engineering may be earmarked for aeronautics, civil engineering, chemical engineering, highway or hydraulic engineering, electricity or electrical communication, mining or mechanical or marine engineering, petroleum or railroads or textiles. So too with medical sciences; a Junior League presented Tulane University with a $1,200 fellowship in obstetrics and another in pediatrics. There are aids for bacteriology, immunology, roentgenology, pathology, oto-laryngology, materia medica, nursing, oral hygiene, veterinary medicine. The same thing is true of languages and of all the main divisions of the arts and sciences.

A dairy association subsidizes research in the bacteriological content of cheese, another group establishes a fund for research in the life history and ecology of ring-necked pheasants. But what of tubercular meningitis—now 100 per cent fatal? What of arthritis, encephalitis, and poliomyelitis? What of the common cold? Until these and scores of other mysteries, physical and social and economic, are solved, there is no overcrowded profession, no lack of incentive to advanced study.

Fraternal affiliation. Fraternal and civic organizations form an important source of aid for students. One national order reports to the Institute over 400 chapters administering aid for students in the field

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of higher education. Among the off-campus organizations contributing extensively to lifting the level of education in America are the Knights of Columbus, the Knights Templar and other Masonic bodies, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, the Patrons of Husbandry, the Parent-Teachers' Associations, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Association of University Women.

Occupation of parent. The number of aids earmarked according to occupation of parent is probably greater than generally known. Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania have aids for the sons of the freight employees of the Pennsylvania railroad. There are aids earmarked for the sons of American consular officers, for the daughters of physicians and of educators, for the sons and daughters of missionaries and of clergymen of various denominations, for the sons of policemen and of firemen, of engineers, and of farmers.

Personal habits. It is doubtful that any awards are made without taking into account the personal habits of the applicant, particularly as regards habits of study, industriousness, and association. Educators are prone to set value upon intangible factors which bespeak potential leadership in an increasingly complex society. Although few aids bear earmarks which can be cross-indexed under the heading of personal habits, there are some which bear such negative restrictions as "for students who do not use intoxicating beverages," or "for students who do not use tobacco in any form," or "for students who are not in debt."

Physical handicap. Aids have been awarded, some say too frequently, on the basis of athletic ability; but how about the awards based on physical disability? There is dramatic appeal in a group which includes aids for the deaf, the blind, the tubercular, the deformed, the maimed. And consider that fund of $10,000 at the University of New Hampshire "preferably for one-armed students"!

Place of birth, of residence, or of preparation. There are special aids for legal residents of every state in the Union and of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Insular possessions. There are aids reserved for communities, from the City of Boston to Puyallup in the State of Washington. There are aids for students south of the Mason-Dixon line, from the old Northwest, from southern California, from the Middle Atlantic States.

Most of these regional aids might be reclassified, according to derivation, as "taxation aids" and "loyalty aids." Taxation aids are the result of legislative action of nation, state, or municipality. They compose a very large group and are awarded usually on some competitive basis. Among these are the State Scholarships in New York, carrying a stipend of $100 annually, tenable four years, and leav-

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ing to the successful high school candidate wide latitude within the state as to selection of college and curriculum. The scholarships in land-grant colleges, available to all "legal" residents, constitute a group of "taxation aids" in which the element of competition is secondary or even wholly non-existent. Under the heading of loyalty aids fall scholarships created for residents of special towns, graduates of certain schools, and members of particular religious communities. Sometimes these "loyalty aids" are earmarked for a particular region and at the same time pay tribute to a devoted relative or a distinguished professor. Acts of heroism have been thus commemorated, or a friendship, as in the case of the sum of $117,054 bequeathed to Stanford University in honor of a New York attorney, by an admiring friend, "for students who were born or who have lived in the State of Connecticut." Of special significance also are the regional aids established by loyal alumni.

Racial descent. Loyalty to a family or place of birth sometimes takes the form of a fund for qualified candidates of a nationality or even of a race. Thus we have aids for students of Irish descent, of New England ancestry, of South American, Chinese, or Hungarian origin, or of the Indian, Negro, or Caucasian race.

Religious affiliation. National denominational boards maintain substantial funds to aid their members, particularly but not exclusively in preparation for the work of the church. There are numerous aids for those of the Jewish faith. Individual congregations of various denominations, moreover, have established aids for candidates among their own membership. The possibilities in this direction are almost unlimited.

Scholastic rank. Apparently a scholarship awaits the ranking graduate of every secondary school in America. The upper tenth of each class has a reasonable hope of an award, and some institutions give special consideration to students of the upper half. There may be a distinct trend toward the administration of awards on what has come to be known as the Rhodes Scholarship basis, with due emphasis upon qualities of leadership expressed in extra-curricular activities, but let it not be overlooked that a premium still is placed upon high scholastic ability.

The Open Scholarships of Swarthmore and of Mount Holyoke, awarded on a regional competitive basis, are attracting students of proved scholastic attainments. President Conant of Harvard has also brought into sharper focus the patent need of more aids bearing a stipend adequate to free earnest and competent students from financial anxiety. By so doing he indicates a determination to attract to Cambridge the nation's best.

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If the research conducted at the Institute of Student Aid and the voluminous correspondence from students, counselors, and parents signify anything at all they point to the fact that there are not enough aids, of substantial stipend or otherwise. The competition is keen and will be keener as more students are informed where best to file application for aid and when.

. . .

The Library of the League of Nations

WILLIAM W. BISHOP
Librarian of the General Library, University of Michigan

THE Library of the League of Nations will shortly move into the magnificent new building which it owes to the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. This building, complete in itself, forms one of the large units in the great group of buildings erected for the League of Nations on high ground overlooking Lake Geneva. On the first floor there is a large public reading room. There is also a large periodical room which will be open to the public but is especially designed for members of the Assembly and of the Secretariat requiring the use of current magazines and newspapers. On the third floor are ingeniously designed rooms for special studies. These rooms, chiefly devoted to the use of the League organization itself, include quarters, for example, for persons or groups studying questions of public health, sanitation, and hygiene; for the use of the legal section of the League; and for the necesary reading and study connected with the researches of the International Labor Office. The fourth floor is devoted to special study rooms for the use either of groups or of individuals brought to Geneva by various matters before the League Council or the Assembly. There is a constant stream of such inquirers who already make extensive use of this Library.

Already the Library has become quite large, numbering at present over a quarter of a million volumes, among them a collection of publications of national governments of the last fifteen years more complete, possibly, than can be met with in any library in the world. Since 1920 all nations which are members of the League, and a few which are not, have been sending a complete set of their publications to the League of Nations Library where they are very carefully arranged and indexed so that scholars resorting to Geneva can with very little delay find official material on the topics in which they are interested. By means of a photostat service scholars in parts of the world remote from Geneva can secure copies of important decrees, reports, laws, etc., not available to them in their own libraries. This service is not costly, although of

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course the reproduction of very long documents is a fairly expensive matter. In addition, the League Library has purchased the newer publications on international questions of a legal, political, and social nature. It is particularly rich in judicial decisions and decrees of various countries and has a great abundance of material of interest to students of international law and affairs. The operations of various League committees have also caused the Library to accumulate extremely valuable collections on a large number of somewhat unrelated topics. As the years go on these collections, formed for these special studies, will assume large dimensions and great importance.

By means of its small but highly expert staff the League of Nations Library is rendering an efficient service to various committees and groups called together at Geneva. For example, in the long-drawn-out and apparently fruitless discussions of disarmament the Library staff prepared impartial and reliable statistical studies of the actual sums expended for military purposes in all civilized countries. This work required an exacting and laborious study, not only of budgets as printed but of expenditures reported by various war and naval ministries.

By its bibliographical publications and by its record of material received, the League Library is already rendering very valuable service to other libraries throughout the world. Its staff, however, is still far too small. It is understood that studies are being made of a plan to give the League of Nations Library a semi-corporate existence. At present it is organized as one of the departments of the Secretariat of the League. If it is made a separate corporation under the direction of the League, legal difficulties in the way of receiving gifts, endowments, etc., may be removed and the permanence of the scholarly work of the Library insured.

Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick and the author have been the two American members of the Library Planning Committee set up by the Council of the League in 1928. This Committee has included such men as Lord Rennell of Rod, M. Roland-Marcel of Paris, Dr. Hugo Krüss of Berlin, and the late Senator Scialoja of Italy.

. . .

Lucretius and His Influence

CLARK S. NORTHUP
Professor of English, Cornell

THE history of Lucretius' influence cannot fail to be of special interest. His tremendous courage, his downright earnestness,

Lucretius and His Influence. By George Depue Hadzsits. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1935. 18.7 cm., pp. viii, 376. Our Debt to Greece and Rome 12. Price, $2.25.

Our Debt to Greece and Rome. Edited by George Depue Hadzsits and David M. Robinson. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1922–. To date, 44 vols. 18.7 cm.

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his definiteness and directness, the vigor of his imagination, the breadth of his experience, his sympathy with oppressed and fear-ridden humanity—all these qualities have attracted to him a constant stream of readers who have derived stimulation and delight from his pages.

His message, however, has been acceptable only to a few. Though he was no Jeremiah crying in the wilderness, he might as well have been, considered from the point of view of popularity. Instead of calling on men to repent, he summoned them to a life of austere nobility and tranquility. He was misunderstood, as Epicurus had been, as advocates of *carpe diem* are bound to be misunderstood; for the life of today, the life of pleasure, means many different things, even to persons who have due respect for this world—to say nothing of those who despise this world and are always living in the hereafter. One man delights in Moll and the tavern catch, another in Emerson, another in *Revelation*. Neither the first nor the third is likely to take much stock in Lucretius, the first from ignorance, the third from hostility. And for this hostility there is a double reason. Lucretius is very certain that there is no life hereafter; revelation is an idle dream. All the life we shall ever know is the life here and now; the gods have nothing to do with it. Have done, says the poet, with this nonsense that the gods agonize over our affairs; then live honorably like a man. Seek wisdom not from hearsay but from the evidence of your own senses (cf. book v, lines 1131–35). Thus Lucretius was an early humanist, for whom Man was the measure of man; and when Tennyson looked into the future and saw the vision of "the one far-off divine event To which the whole creation moves," he saluted Lucretius across the ages.

As for the influence of the thought which Lucretius champions, it may be worth while to remind ourselves that the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, which we all profess to cherish, is an expression of the purest Epicureanism or Lucretianism—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, a true trinity, each part of which is inseparable from the others. In Moscow, Berlin, Tokyo, Rome—not to mention a capital nearer home—they are trying other recipes; but the outcome is inevitable.

For most men this idea of character for its own sake and nothing more is unendurably strong meat. They have been told that if they get into line with the prevailing orthodoxy and honor the ruling god, they will be rewarded with eternal bliss. A character based on such ideas may be of a very mean sort. Virtue is not a matter of sale or reward.

Thus Lucretius, in his own field of poet of science the greatest the

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world has produced, is and will long continue to be little known or regarded with distrust. But for a few he will continue to interpret nature with an uncanny and prophetic wisdom.

The author of this volume is to be congratulated on this sympathetic and perspicacious account of the thought and influence of the Roman poet. He has brought to the task a broad scholarship and a fine humanity. For him Lucretius lives not only because he turned out a noble collection of vigorous hexameters but also because he gave men a poetic reading of earth that has never been surpassed. This book will take a high place in the series of which it is the latest number.

And now a word or two about this series, of which only one volume now remains to be published. For most of our modern American youth, alas, the Greek and Roman worlds are dead, so dead that even a course in ancient history will scarcely revive them. Such a series as this fifty years ago, had it been possible, would have been a welcome aid to teachers and students; today, if we are to keep our proper perspective, it has become indispensable. Not only would the careful reading of the forty-four books go far toward providing a liberal education, but it would give the reader correct notions of our spiritual and intellectual heritage from Athens and Rome. In our education we still use the best devices worked out by Greece and Rome. Theologically at least, orthodox Christianity goes back to Plato and Pythagoras as well as to Jerusalem. Our political aspirations toward democracy are those of the age of Pericles; and we have no more learned the needful lessons in self-government than had the Athenians and the Thebans who went down to defeat before the phalanxes of Philip. Moreover, we are today fighting the same battles for intellectual and religious freedom, and the goal seems almost as far off as it must have seemed to Lucretius.

Of so valuable a series the whole, or at least a generous section, should be in the library of every community, every college, and every educated man. If used, it will lead some to read the authors themselves—all or most of whom are accessible, fortunately, in adequate and attractive translations. Indeed, far stranger things have happened than that we should have a second renaissance. Perhaps nothing could happen that would do the world more good.

. . .

We are sorry that in quoting from *The Message of Asia*, by Paul Cohen-Portheim, on the title page of our Autumn number we failed to say that this excellent book was published by E. P. Dutton and Company, New York City.

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Discussion

A New Language for a New Internationalism

To the Editor:

As one of your subscribers I herewith enclose a paragraph from my recent radio address dealing with a problem continually becoming more acute as the world becomes smaller. Should your readers care to know more about the subject I recommend *Cosmopolitan Conversation* (by Herbert N. Shenton, published by the Columbia University Press) and/or the International Auxiliary Language Association at 415 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

In harnessing electric waves to do my bidding I am using a form of speech dating back through the centuries. What a contrast! Before me is a marvelous instrument of communications, new in every detail and thoroughly thought out. Through it I transmit a language old and not consciously constructed. Like all national languages it is a product of emotions and the storehouse of local traditions. It is beautiful indeed to those who understand its inconsistencies and love its local associations. But it is not a scientific product designed advisedly to overcome the barriers of speech which still separate and annoy men of different mother tongues when they seek direct interchange of ideas. The radio overcomes space and transcends national boundaries, but language barriers nullify its highest possible usefulness. The radio is essentially international and needs therefore an international language, one simple in structure, precise, easy to learn, and free, in the meanings of its words, from hidden prejudices and misunderstandings. This radio tongue cannot, therefore, be a national language, the language of one nation for use by all nations; but a new product, a scientific invention for the use of all men, a linguistic instrument for mankind.

DAVE HENNEN MORRIS,
American Ambassador to Belgium.

. . .

A Minorities Transplantation

HENRY C. WOLFE

On my arrival at the Roumanian Foreign Ministry in Bucharest last June, an official greeted me: "You will be interested to know that our Government is putting into operation in the Dobrudja the plan for minorities transplantation which you advocated in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR."

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A few days later I visited the Dobrudja in the company of the Honorable Dimitri Dimancesco, Roumanian Consul at San Francisco, home on leave. Together we investigated the emigration of 100,000 Turks from that region of southeastern Roumania to Anatolia.

The remarkable feature about the Turkish minority in the Dobrudja is the fact that it represented almost no problem at all. In contrast with the irreconcilable minorities scattered over Central Europe and the Balkans these Dobrudja Moslems were contented and industrious Roumanian citizens. For several centuries they had tilled the fertile soil along the western shore of the Black Sea, good farmers and peaceable inhabitants. The Roumanian Government regarded them as valuable to the economic life of the country.

In Turkey, however, where efforts are being made to raise the standard of a backward agriculture, President Kemal Ataturk needs the progressive Dobrudja Turks. Negotiations between Angora and Bucharest resulted in an agreement for a voluntary transplantation of the Dobrudja Moslems to their homeland. A system of indemnification for the repatriates was also worked out. This provides that a Turk desiring to leave the Dobrudja can sell his land, animals and farm equipment to the Roumanian Government. The money received from such transactions is turned over to the Turkish authorities for purchase of land and agricultural equipment for the emigrant when he reaches Anatolia.

The land vacated by the Turks of the Dobrudja is being allotted to Roumanian immigrants from Yugoslavia and other countries where Roumanian minorities live. The entire operation is being conducted on a voluntary basis, and our investigation indicated that it is being carried out humanely and efficiently. Groups of smiling Turks with whom we talked in Constanza and other Dobrudja centers seemed entirely satisfied with the arrangement. Their only doubt appeared to be in connection with the observance of their Moslem religion in Anatolia. In Turkey they would have to discard the fez, which they have been permitted to wear at will in Roumania. One man told us he would continue to wear his fez beneath a cap when he arrived at the Turkish port.

How strikingly these voluntary emigrants from the Dobrudja contrasted with the tragic horde of Greek refugees who poured out of Turkey during the enforced transplantation of 1922!

What Roumania and Turkey are doing in carrying out this minorities transplantation points the way to nations which have irreconcilable minority groups. If the rights of the transplanted people are given just consideration such a movement can be successful.

(*See also page 128*)

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When Mr. Henry Wolfe offered a very daring solution of the minorities problem not a few considered him a hopeless utopian. Yet we in Roumania knew that Mr. Wolfe's plan was already working in our Dobrudja province where the Turkish minority was by peaceful agreement migrating *en masse* to Asia Minor.

It seemed to us that Mr. Wolfe, who had taken the trouble to come to Roumania—a modern doubting Thomas—wanted to touch with his own hands those Turks who voluntarily were leaving Roumania to join their distant fatherland. It has been my privilege to guide him on that trip.

D. Dem Dimancesco,
Consul of Roumania at San Francisco.

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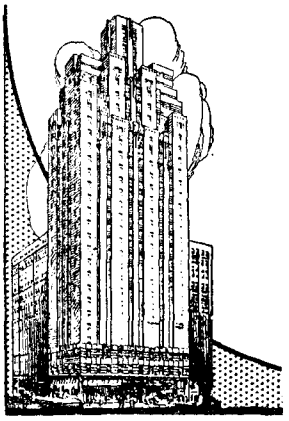

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og" of the TVA—

grand tale of human beings is appearing currently in *Survey raphic.* It is Arthur E. Morgan's "log" of the Tennessee Valley Authority, his intimate running account of the great experiment in public enterprise of which he is chairman. It might well have been written in terms of the yards of earth dug, the tons of concrete poured, for this is one of the largest construction jobs ever undertaken by the government. But here through the eyes of "Morgan of Antioch" we see the men on the job. He says:

> "The job that is being done here is not being done so that someone in a faraway city can get big dividends or service fees, but so that electric power can be sawing wood, doing the family washing, lighting the barn, running little industries for the same people who are now working on the dams. . . . Many people look upon the TVA as a sort of Utopia, where a novel social order is in the making. Some are greatly disturbed by this prospect; others are greatly pleased. Both fears and hopes may be disappointed, for the TVA has been given no blanket power or authority. It is doing almost nothing that our government has not done before, sometime or somewhere. The principal changes it may bring about will probably be chiefly due, not to strange new things that are undertaken, but to the spirit and attitudes that pervade the day's work."

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